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Education and its effects on recidivism.

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EDUCATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

To my wife Alison and four children, Matthew, Amanda, James and Samantha, for their sacrifices of my attention, and patience at times, as a result of this project.

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM

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Correctional education came from the belief that criminals lack the academic, vocational and social skills needed to be successful in society. Lacking these skills, individuals turn to crime in order to survive. By meeting the criminals basic education and social needs, we should be able to correct the criminal behavior by opening up employment and social opportunities which allow them to achieve these goals legally (Davidson, 1995).

The second school of thought is that criminal acts are committed because criminals lack the cognitive and moral maturity needed to make proper decisions. Law abiding citizens have developed the ability to rationalize the cost of the punishment against the social cost of committing the crime. The goal of education is to develop cognitive thinking. By developing cognitive thinking, it is believed criminals will make socially normal and law abiding decisions.

The philosophy of educating inmates to reduce recidivism has been in practice for more than a century. Since these early attempts at providing treatment programming to the inmate population, many programs throughout the world have been developed to

better address the lack of education and cognitive skill development of criminals. In addition to expanding new treatment programs, many new correctional facilities throughout the United States have been built to accommodate the rising number of criminals. Many of these new correctional facilities have been built during the past decade.

Today, more than ever, we are experiencing a rapid growth in our inmate population. We must begin to document what we are doing and report on its successes and failures. We are building institutions and implementing programs without all the necessary data to support what works. This dissertation will first review the findings of research conducted on various education treatment programs and the effects they had on individuals cognitive skills, employability and ability to maintain a normal crime-free life style. I will provide research analysis of data collected on inmates who participated in GED programming while incarcerated in Connecticut prisons from 1992-1996 and evaluate and report findings on the positive effect these programs had on recidivism.

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THE NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE INCARCERATED

A. Introduction

Every minute of every day someone is being victimized by another person. Currently, over 50 million adults and 100,000 youth are under correctional supervision. According to the Bureau of Justice statistics for 1994, over 14,000,000 arrests were made in that year. In Connecticut alone 182,472 arrests were made, not including traffic violations. Of the 182,472 arrests, 39,701(22%) of them were for crimes involving violence and property. Of these 39,701 arrests, 8,803 (22%) were for murder, forcible rape, robbery or aggravated assault. The average length of sentence for any of these crimes ranges from 78 months to 243 months. The average stay for a 72 month sentence is 27 months. Regardless of the length of sentence, it is almost certain that the individual will be released back into society. Of those committing violent offenses, 91.5% had not earned a high school diploma. Of those arrested on drug charges, 88.1% had finished high school. 93,316 of the 968,606 individuals arrested on drug abuse charges were under the age of 18 and 14,787 were under the age of 15.

These alarming statistics continue to rise every year. According to Stephen Duguid (1981), "Criminal activity tends to escalate in seriousness with successive offenses." The United States leads the world in prisoner-to-population ratio with over 400 prisoners per 100,000. Currently there are 102 new prisons under construction in the United States, built to incarcerate 67,000 new inmates at a cost of $2.8 billion (Littlefield,

1990), not including court and victim services costs. While African Americans constitute 12% of the general population, they account for over 40% of the prison population (Breed, 1991). In Washington D.C., 42% of all males between 18-35 years of age, mostly blacks and Latinos, were under the jurisdiction of the Department of Correction, on parole or probation, or had warrants for their arrest. Until we as a nation begin to prepare inmates for successful transition back into our communities, we will continue to support a growing segment of our population at the high cost of incarceration. The most current estimate of incarceration is 26.6 billion dollars annually. We continue to spend more money to incarcerate than we do to educate. Correctional administrators will state that the political climate does not support treatment programs in corrections, although 75% of people polled said that we do not spend enough money on fighting crime and they would support spending money on treatment programs to reduce crime. People are more concerned about their personal safety than retribution against the criminal. Knowing the criminal will someday be released, many civilians believe attempts at rehabilitation should be made. While studies show that training and education in prison leads to increased post-release success in the job market, at least half of all state correctional institutions have reduced educational and vocational programs during the past five years.

With less than 20% of state inmates in drug treatment programs, the continued elimination of such programs will only increase our inmate population at a faster rate. Ninety eight percent of the current prison population will eventually return to the community with the same problems in handling anger, in obtaining and maintaining employment, and in socialization.

They will be even more committed to criminal activity if nothing is done to help them improve these survival skills (Bell, 1990). Nearly one-half of all inmates with children go on welfare when released.

Correctional education came from the belief that criminals lack the academic, vocational and social skills needed to be successful in society. Lacking these skills, individuals turn to crime in order to survive. By meeting the criminals basic education and social needs, we should be able to correct the criminal behavior by opening up employment and social opportunities which allow them to achieve these goals legally (Davidson, 1995).

The second school of thought is that criminal acts are committed because criminals lack the cognitive and moral maturity needed to make proper decisions. Law abiding citizens have developed the ability to rationalize the cost of the punishment against the social cost of committing the crime. The goal of education is to develop cognitive thinking. By developing cognitive thinking, it is believed criminals will make socially normal and law abiding decisions.

The philosophy of educating inmates to reduce recidivism has been in practice for more than a century. As early as 1900, the New York State Penitentiary System budget showed funding for library and educational supplies totaling $153.80. In 1932, recommendations for the administration and construction of prisons called for increased inmate educational programming.

The following educational program for the New York State Penal System was recommended in a special report by the Commission to Investigate Prison Administration & Construction, January 1932. Realizing that incarceration alone did nothing to change

individual behavior upon release, the commission reported the need for formal education programs consisting of a director, assistant director and teachers. The director would report directly to the Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Correction, while maintaining communication with the State Department of Education. Both day and evening classes would be offered, limiting class size to approximately 15 students, which allows for a good deal of individual attention.

Shortly after admission the inmate is administered a standardized battery of tests, starting at the fifth grade level and going as high as eleventh grade. Traditional Adult Basic Education (ABE) would be offered to those inmates who enter without a high school diploma. In addition to traditional courses, specialized courses such as art programs, marketing, journalism, drama and advertising would be offered. Utilizing the existing industry model, a vocational training program would be initiated to teach trades to interested inmates. In addition to industrial programs, it was recommended that general details such as laundry, kitchen, barber shop and the power house would be excellent vocations which, if structured as training programs, would benefit the inmate upon release and provide more skilled labor to the institution

> No one, not even the most optimistic educator, would, I believe, make the assertion that education provides a panacea for curbing and eradicating crime, but in the face of statistics which clearly indicate that less than 10 percent of all inmates committed to the correctional institutions possess a trade or profession; that fifty per cent or more rate below a forth grade educational level, and fully twenty percent are quite illiterate, it is not illogical to assume that lack of learning and lack of habits of industry have some material bearing on prison populations. (Commission to investigate Prison Administration & Construction, 1932).

Since these early attempts at providing treatment programming to the inmate population, many programs throughout the world have been developed to better address

the lack of education and cognitive skill development of criminals. In addition to expanding new treatment programs, many new correctional facilities throughout the United States have been built to accommodate the rising number of criminals. Many of these new correctional facilities have been built during the past decade.

Throughout this paper I will make reference to the Connecticut Department of Correction, wherein I am a school principal. The references will include first-hand knowledge and used to give the reader an up-close perspective of a typical correctional system and the changes it has experienced over the past years. Over the past seven years the Connecticut Department of Correction has experienced many changes, including an increasing number of facilities which reflect an ever-growing prison population. The incarcerated population increased 20% in the past year alone. In Connecticut, work release programs within the prisons themselves, along with rules and regulations, have been changed to better reflect those of society. Inmates are no longer paid if they do not show up to their daily work assignment. They are now assessed for services such as medical and elective education programs. Future assessments will include a 10% taxation of all monies received while incarcerated to reimburse the state for the cost of incarceration. Connecticut is in the final stages of a $1-billion prison construction program which began in the 1980's.

Within the Connecticut Department of Correction is the state's largest school district, Unified School District #1, where I am employed as a principal in one of the department's 23 institutions. In 1991, the Connecticut Legislature prompted a statewide alert from correctional educators when they proposed to cut 62% of the school district. It was realized at this time that neither the Connecticut Department of Correction nor

Unified School District #1 had maintained data which statistically reported the success and cost-effectiveness of maintaining education programs within our correctional facilities. It is for this reason I have begun to gather data and research the relationship between prison education and recidivism. I am now able to provide the Connecticut General Assembly with the information needed to make informed decisions about the need for education programs within the Connecticut Department of Correction.

About 30 percent of inmates in Connecticut Correctional Institutions suffer from learning disabilities (Teleconference, 1995). Thirty-eight percent of the prison population enters with less than a seventh grade education (Davidson, 1995). Inmate illiteracy is costing the state millions of dollars. The average cost for incarcerating an adult male in Connecticut is $65.27 per day. At some institutions the cost is as high as $237.33 per day. Over the next five years, 90 percent of the adults presently incarcerated can expect to be released (Acorn 1991). Illiteracy and the absence of a GED or High School Diploma will render many of these adults unemployable (Winters & Mather 1993).

The dilemma that exists between the "custody and control" goals of corrections and the "freedom, growth, and self actualization" goals of education must be confronted. Correctional officials must view educational goals as enhancing rather than contradicting correctional goals (O'Neal, 1990), for, as Davidson suggests, "schooling is a principle method for controlling prisoners and their rehabilitation" (Davidson, 1995).

According to researchers, there is a considerable need for improvement in correctional education programs. Areas in need of improvement include societal support, collaboration between correctional and educational leaders, resources and planning, and post-secondary opportunities for the qualified inmate. It is hypothesized in Clemmer's

theory of prisonization (1958) that the inmate becomes absorbed into the prison society and acts accordingly to its norms in order to survive. If a collegiate atmosphere is offered to qualified inmates, then they would be constructively absorbed into this atmosphere instead of that of the institution (O'Neal 1990).

Today, more than ever, we are experiencing a rapid growth in our inmate population. We must begin to document what we are doing and report on its successes and failures. We are building institutions and implementing programs without all the necessary data to support what works.

The following chapters provide an understanding and analysis of correctional education programs. The organization and success of these programs is discussed to provide an understanding of the ways to best address the educational needs of the incarcerated population. The studies address both the type of educational services received while incarcerated and the impact specific programs have on the recidivism rate. This paper discusses the literature of the criminal mind as well as criminological theories that mold how we operate within the Department of Correction.

Chapter two provides an understanding of some of the schools of thought concerning the criminal mind. In addition, it gives an explanation of the various criminological theories that form boundaries for our philosophical beliefs of incarceration.

Chapter three will review the findings of research conducted on various education treatment programs and the effect they had on an individual's cognitive skill, employability and ability to maintain a normal crime-free lifestyle.

This chapter makes comparisons between academic, vocational and post-secondary education programs and the role each plays in the prison environment, as well as its impact on a criminal's post-incarceration lifestyle.

Chapter four will provide the reader with a closer perspective of the education programs within the Connecticut Department of Correction and a description of the types of educational testing and programs offered to the incarcerated population.

Chapter five will present the findings of a study I conducted over the past five years tracking the recidivism rate of inmates who took the General Education Development Examination between 1992 and 1996.

The theoretical material presented in the following chapter is a review of major theories about the cause of criminal behavior and the theories of correctional treatment. The next chapter will concentrate on the theories upon which the studies in the following chapters are based.

CHAPTER II

CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY

A. Introduction

In looking at the history of crime, two basic theories have existed to identify a criminal or explain the cause of criminal activity: spiritual and natural. While spiritual explanations rely on other worldly powers to account for criminal activities of people, natural explanations rely on objects and events in the natural world to explain these events. Criminologists, sociologists and psychologists today have abandoned the spiritual approach as a reference and rely on the natural explanations to identify and treat criminals.

In order to effectively administer treatment services to criminals, we must first examine what makes them act in a fashion non-conforming to society's laws. Frequently asked questions concern the nature of criminal mischief, whether or not the criminal was raised in an abusive home, or if the criminal is the product of his environment? Once we determine what has caused the criminal activity, we must then determine the best approach to correct the criminal's thinking so that he or she may return to society as a law-abiding citizen.

Some sociologists believe criminals resort to crime because they are victims of poverty, broken homes, racism and denied opportunities. These experts contend that it is because of these factors that criminals resort to crime. Rising suburban crime rates have

been attributed to pressure to compete with other individuals for materialistic signs of success, to neglectful parents, and to over-involved parents who push too much or are over-protective. The sociologist's explanation of crime leaves unanswered the question of why the brother, sister, or neighbor, living under the same conditions, has not resorted to committing crime.

Some psychologists believe that the criminal is responsible for his or her actions and must realize that the crime for which the individual is arrested is, in most cases, preceded by other poor decisions on the part of the criminal. We must look back to the origin of his/her decisions which led up to the criminal act in order to understand the criminal's motivation.

Stanton Samenow (1984) is a practicing clinical psychologist who spent six years (1970-1976) studying adult male criminals as part of a program for the Investigation of Criminal Behavior at St. Elizabeth Hospital in Washington D.C.. He believes that the common denominator among criminals is "how they think." Samenow does not believe a criminal is a normal person who exhibits antisocial behavior; rather, he believes the criminal always thinks a certain way and that crime has little to do with parenting, social justice, mental illness, emotional disorder, drug addiction or any other condition. If we as a society continue to think of the criminal as a victim of society, we endorse such excuses and do not place blame where it belongs. Criminals always think of themselves; they will address their needs before others and only act appropriately when it does not interfere with their goals. When we as a society realize that criminals think differently, we can begin to address and structure programs accordingly.

We must strip from the criminal any idea that society, their peers or their parents are to blame. Criminals are quick to tell you what their parents and society have done to them. The criminal may tell how he was beaten as a child but may not report how he was antagonistic and provoked such outrage from a parent. Very few admit what they have done to their parents or society. Samenow suggests many reasons why society, peers and parents are not to blame; however, he concedes that there are cases in which the child is not antagonistic but is nevertheless beaten or sexually abused by a parent or other adult.

Although statistically those with higher education and employment commit less crime, many criminals have a high school diploma or college degree and have been employed members of society. People on the inside may look at this individual with greater respect or as someone trying to make their life better. Samenow suggests that one must see through this facade and understand that this individual may have been employed for selfish reasons. Their employment may have provided them with the opportunity to steal TV's from their employer or embezzle money from the bank.

B. The Three Schools of Criminology

There exist three essentially different and in some ways contradictory frames of reference, based on three disparate ways of thinking about crime. The disparities among these frames of reference are a result of fundamental differences in the way they perceive crime. The body of research dedicated to criminal behavior is the largest body of research in relation to criminology (Andrews, 1995). These three frames of reference will be identified and briefly described in the sections that follow. Two of the three frames of reference focus on behaviors of criminals. The first describes criminal behavior as freely

chosen. The second describes it as caused by forces beyond the control of the individual. The third describes crime as a result of the way criminal law is written and enforced.

1. The Classical School

Marchese de Beccaria (1738-94) was a leading theorist of the Classical School of Criminology. Beccaria believed people make decisions of their own free will. Environmental or biological factors do not influence one's decisions with regard to crime. Beccaria felt people were pleasure seekers. He believed man loves pleasure and avoids pain.

In the view that intelligence and rationality are fundamental human characteristics, humans are said to be capable of understanding themselves and acting to promote their own self interest. Societies are formed by people according to similarities that seem acceptable to them. Each person is said to be in control of his or her fate. This frame of reference is called the classical school of criminology, as well as classical thinking in other disciplines such as philosophy, political science, and economics. Within this view crime is seen as a product of free choice. The individual weighs the potential benefits against the potential costs of committing the crime. Society's perspective is to increase the costs of committing the crime as a deterrent to the individual thinking about committing the crime. Criminologists attempt to create a system of punishment that applies the right amount of deterrent and reduces the occurrence of crime. The causes of crime are primarily in the person. "That all men are absolutely free to do or not to do; that they voluntarily elect and deliberately do wickedness..." (Brockway 1995).

The four main objectives of the classical school are the following: 1) to prevent all criminal offenses through punishment; 2) when it cannot prevent crime, at least to convince offenders to commit a lesser crime; 3) to insure that a criminal uses no more force than is necessary; 4) to prevent crime as cheaply as possible. People are rational thinkers and will not commit the crime if the penalty is too severe. The penalty should be just severe enough to deter the crime. If the punishment is too severe, the individual may commit additional crimes for which the penalty is no more severe than for his original crime. An example of this would be if a bank robber, in an attempt to rob a bank, shoots and kills one security officer. If the penalty for this one shooting was the death penalty, in an attempt to get away no additional deterrent exists to keep this individual from killing any other people who interfere. There is no leverage to keep the bank robber from committing more harm to society. If one cannot prevent someone from committing a crime, one may be able to convince him to commit a less severe crime based upon the penalty.

Proponents of this approach feel that laws should be published so that the public knows what they are. The purpose of law is to protect and support all communities. Crime is an irrational act committed by people who are incapable of making rational decisions based upon long-term planning. The classical theorist believes that if people knew what the laws are and what the punishment is for committing a specific crime, they would weigh the crime against the punishment and make a rational decision. The problem with this theory is that, for many criminals today, incarceration is a part of doing business. They are aware of the risks. Just as someone who plays the stock market is

aware of the risk of losing money, so too is an individual who sells drugs aware of the risk of incarceration. The short term benefits of committing the crime may outweigh the negative factors of incarceration. "Men who reason that theft is not a moral question, but only one of risk and consequence, will always take the risk" (Former educated inmate as cited in Duguid, 1981). With many criminals, the social crucifixion of arrest and conviction does not exist. In many cases, this is a status symbol among their peers.

If the punishment is going to act as a deterrent, we must maintain consistency in sentencing criminals for specific acts. The classical philosophy does not take into account people who are intoxicated or angry. People who are in contact with people who are successful in crime may realize that the benefit of the crime outweighs the penalty. The justice system is designed to provide people with a fair trial. This process results in plea bargaining agreements in which the criminal pleads guilty to a lesser charge and/or cases are dismissed, creating better odds for the criminal.

The classical theory exits today in our society. Legislators make the laws. Judges are bound by these laws and are required to sentence criminals within the boundaries of the law, without arbitrarily punishing an individual. Individuals are not sentenced based upon the cause of their actions, but rather on the nature of the crime that was committed. The classical theory alone has not been shown to reduce the level of crime committed. If the punishment for the crime does not act as a deterrent, then an attempt to address the cause of the act must be explored. The classical theory ignores the many social and psychological factors that affect someone's action and maintains that criminal behavior is freely chosen.

2. The Positive School

In recognizing that many social, psychological, environmental and biological factors may have an impact on the crime rate, studies began to focus on the cause-and-effect relationships of various conditions to the crime rate. Exploring the cause of the act is the basis of the positive school of criminology. The five principles of the positive school are the following: 1) all humans are not born with equal ability to learn; 2) our behavior is controlled by social forces; 3) all people are born different; 4) all behavior is learned; and 5) each person has a unique potential for learning. Crime is viewed as the result of multiple conditions that an individual is exposed to and over which he or she has no control. By searching for the cause, one can explain why one individual commits a crime and another does not.

The founder of the positive school of criminology, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), believed criminals were biological throwbacks to an earlier time and were less highly evolved than their noncriminal counterparts (Void and Bernard 1986). Lombroso maintained three classes of criminals: 1) born criminals, a more primitive form of development; 2) insane criminals, those who suffer from paranoia, melancholia, alcoholism, epilepsy, or hysteria; and 3) criminaloid, the largest of Lombroso's groups, which accounts for those criminals who were not born criminals or insane but whose mental and emotional make up causes them to act in a criminal nature under certain conditions.

Supporters of the positive school believe that criminals do not have free will. Environmental, social and biological factors influence behavior. One's family structure plays a role in the outcome of criminal behavior. In a recent report, James Bonta, Stephen Warmith & Don Andrews (1995) found that data from several studies was remarkably consistent in regard to behavioral characteristics and social and environmental experiences of young people that suggest an increased risk of delinquency: (Andrews 1995)

1. antisocial/delinquent associates - antisocial/antiauthority
2. procriminal attitudes, values and beliefs
3. family conflict
4. low levels of affection or cohesiveness
5. violence, poor supervision, monitoring
6. and disciplinary practices by parents
7. psychological disadvantage evident among parents and
8. siblings in the family origin
9. criminal records
10. substance abuse
11. mental health problems,
12. reliance on (as opposed to sometime use of) welfare
13. poor work habits and unstable work history (as opposed to a low level of occupation)
14. impulsivity
15. weak self-management and problem solving skills
16. restlessly energetic a taste for risky activities
17. early adventurous
18. exploration of adult pursuits (sex, drugs) early
19. diverse misbehavior (lying, stealing ,aggression) in a variety of settings (home, playground, school)
20. below average verbal intelligence
21. poor performance in school and in particular, misconduct in school
22. generalized difficulties of trouble in relations with others (parents, siblings, teachers, peers)
23. a preference for leisure and recreational activities that are unsupervised and conducted in unregulated settings
24. being male.

One or more of these factors may be present in people who are at-risk delinquents. The positive theorists' research for the cause of crime will focus on the following: the possibility that one's socioeconomic standards cause an individual to commit a crime; crime is inversely related to economic conditions; criminal behavior is inherited either from a previous generation of degenerates with health and mental problems, or from a family of criminals; controlling certain peoples' reproduction will reduce crime; exposure to prison has produced habitual criminals; crime is inevitable; and crime is related to geographical factors, such as climate, size of population, and amount of daylight as well as individual age and sex. All of these causes have been and continue to be researched in search in exploration of the causes of crime.

The positivist view is very much alive in the penal system today. Judges bestow sentences based on the nature of the crime. However, the criminal's release may be contingent upon corrective action taken to address areas associated with what caused the criminal to commit the offense. The Connecticut Department of Correction has adopted a policy by which inmates are assessed within the first 30 days of incarceration to determine their security, custody and treatment needs. Once a security risk level is established, each inmate is assessed in seven areas: medical, mental health, education, vocational and work skills, substance abuse, sex offender treatment, and family/residence/community resources. A need score is assigned to each of the seven categories based upon intake information received. Once risk and need levels are determined, inmates are placed on specific programs, monitored throughout the incarceration period, and modified accordingly.

Once the educational need score is determined, the inmate is counseled as to his responsibilities in addressing his need score. Based upon department directives, any inmate who refuses to participate in an available educational or program assignment, consistent with the inmate's assessed needs in accordance with Section 8 (B) of this directive, shall be excluded from community release consideration until such time as he or she complies with the classification assignment and has satisfied all disciplinary sanctions.

A sentenced inmate shall not be allowed to refuse or reject any programmatic work or educational assignment. Such refusal shall subject the inmate to disciplinary action as specified in Administrative Directive 9.5, Code of Penal Discipline. A sentenced inmate who is disciplined for refusing a work assignment shall be placed on an unassigned work status and shall be denied a furlough. A sentenced inmate who is disciplined for refusing an educational or program assignment shall be precluded from a classification reduction and participation in a Community Release Program to include furloughs in accordance with Administrative Directives 9.2, Inmate Classification and 9.8, Furloughs. No unsentenced inmate shall be required to work except to perform housekeeping activities or as a disciplinary punishment in accordance with Administrative Directive 9.5, Code of Penal Discipline. Though we sentence a criminal based upon the belief of the classical theorist, we incarcerate the criminal based upon the belief of a positive theorist. If we intend to prevent crime, we must provide better compensation and better facilities for education (Brockway, 1995).

The view that behavior is determined by factors beyond the individual's control suggests that humans are not responsible for their actions. Individuals justify their behavior as predetermined courses of action. These theories were offered as an explanation as to why a particular crime did not fit into the classical school of criminology. Supporters of this school believe that if the crime was a result of factors beyond the individual's control, then punishment will have no effect.

The problem criminologists have with this school is determining what uncontrollable factors caused the crime. Attempts have been made to direct the source of crime at biological, psychological and social factors in search of causes. Some criminologists believe it is a combination of factors, while others believe there can only be one factor as the cause. The positive theorists have a hard time reasoning with those of the classical school because the classical theories deal only with whether the action was legal or illegal and ignore antecedenal factors. They feel the law groups people according to the crime committed and not the behavior exhibited or the cause of their behavior. Society should impose punishment on the criminal, but impose restraint and treatment to protect itself and nourish positive development of the criminal (Brockway 1995). A third school of criminology studies laws and the impact they have on the criminal.

3. The Critical School

Social theorists have for many years presented contrasting views about how society is governed and who makes the laws: 1) the consensus view posits the idea that society is based on a consensus of values by its members (groups with conflicting values

and interests) determined by an organized body that is said to represent the interests of society as a whole; 2) the conflict view is also based on the belief that societies are composed of groups with conflicting values and interests, but it argues that the organized body represents the interests of those in power and not the minority.

One of the most famous of the conflict theorists is Karl Marx (1818-83), who argued that organized states in capitalist societies represent the people who own the means of production. For this reason, there will always be the haves and have nots. In 1938, Thorsten Sellin presented a theory of crime based on the conflicts between different cultural groups in society. These cultural conflicts occur when conduct norm contradictions exist between different groups. The group in power then establishes its norms as law. Seifert and Werner (1991) observed that inmates do not see themselves as "creators of their own destinies; rather, they see the control of their lives in the hands of others." The reference to others means law makers, those we elect to represent society as a whole.

A number of these theories are grouped under the critical school of criminology because they are derived from the understanding that criminal activity is the result of a conflict between cultural and social differences among those living in the same society. The theories discussed in this section focus on disparate groups of people from the same culture experiencing conflict with the laws of society and the people who make them.

In 1958, George B. Void presented a theory derived from Thorsten Sellin's cultural theory called group conflict theory. This theory was based on the idea that people are fundamentally group oriented beings. The behavior of individuals is strongly

related to the interests and activities of the group. Once a person finds himself/herself a part of a group, they begin to take on the identity of that group and become loyal and emotionally attached to the beliefs and purpose of the group. The onus is on the government to establish group interests which reflect the beliefs and interests of society as a whole. A conflict results when the opposing party to a legislative decision fails to acknowledge the law. Many other experts used Void's concept to develop theories of their own and further study the impact of group differences as they relate to a struggle for power and wealth.

The social conflict theorists blame criminal actions on the social conflict between law makers and parts of society. They do not believe that those in charge of law making are representative of society as a whole, rather they are representative of the groups with the power to control the state. This creates an atmosphere in which the law is a mechanism to control the powerless and protect the view of those in power. The critical theorist believes crime is created by social conflict. Laws are created by politically-oriented groups who seek assistance from the governor, legislators, and the courts to protect their interests. The critical theorist believes criminal acts are a consequence of forces trying to control society. Even though criminal conflict may mask their political position, all criminal acts contain a political overtone. Power and control effect criminal behavior and the administration of justice.

The question of why some behaviors are officially determined to be criminal and others are not has begun to be addressed. Criminologists of this school are concerned with humans creating the social world in which they live. They argue that crime is

socially constructed when a specific group of people define what is criminal and determine what set of actions or behaviors constitute a crime. These criminologists study how and why laws are enacted. Social criminologists look at which killings are selected for definition as murder and which other forms of killings are not. They also study the groups of people committing these death acts. These theories are based on studies of the socio-economic characteristics of criminals and the enforcement of the written law. This perspective maintains that if most people who commit crimes are poor, it is not poverty that causes crime. Rather, the actions of poor people are defined as illegal and society has strictly enforced these laws. Traditionally, crimes such as burglary, larceny and armed robbery are strictly enforced. Other crimes such as embezzlement, fraud and corruption are not strictly defined or enforced, even though the outcome of these crimes could result in harm to an individual or the taking of someone's life.

Much of today's criminological thought accepts the sociological theories of causation (Ayers, 1981; Reasons, 1975). In the conflict theories, it is recognized that individuals are responsible for their actions, but that social influences such as economic, family, and group conditions affect their behavior. The assumption is that the criminal is a victim of social conditions and is prone to crime (Ayers, 1975). The treatment must involve rehabilitation through a change or introduction to different economic, family or group conditions. Ayers (1981) offers two main theories that have been derived from the social sciences and exist in our prisons today: 1) the medical model; 2) the reconditioning model.

The medical model of criminality, which assumes that inmates have personality deficits, follows the practice that by labeling an inmate with a specific condition, (e.g. psychopath, antisocial, dangerous, deviate behavior, etc.) you can then prescribe a treatment for them and the criminal will be cured. There has been little evidence to indicate the effectiveness of this model. The problem with this model is that the diagnosis and treatment take place in the confined setting of the institution. Labeling a criminal as cured after attending compulsory group and therapy sessions fails to recognize how the criminal would transition back into the community without the support of the system. While this model directed many policies and practices in penal systems during the 1960's, great discrepancies in research caused it to be replaced with the socio-criminal behavior theories of the 1970's. Evidence suggests that the prison environment further enhances the cognitive and moral differences within us and that the medical model of treatment, while trying to provide a cure, is not an effective treatment for something that needs to be developed over time.

In the early 1970's the reconditioning model was introduced. Based on the assumptions that many social factors such as environment, family and peer groups affect one's behavior, supporters of this theory believe that the criminal is a victim of these conditions. The assumption is that the criminal is a victim of society and has been conditioned to commit crimes. By creating a new society with different social conditions, the criminal will learn how to act properly within this new set of norms. This model of creating a community environment during incarceration has become the basis for community corrections and work-release programs.

In addition to work-release programs, Connecticut prisons have changed their rules and regulations to better reflect those of society. Inmates are no longer paid if they do not show up to their daily work assignment. Inmates are now assessed for services such as medical and elective education programs. Future assessments will include a 10% assessment of all monies received while incarcerated to reimburse the state for the cost of incarceration.

Ayers (1981) introduces a "more tenable model" to the medical or reconditioning model, called the educational growth model. Yochelson and Samenow (1976) showed "immature and inappropriate" thought patterns of the criminal could be reduced by training them in analytical thinking. This educational model assumes most inmates are deficient in these areas and through education courses in the social sciences and humanities disciplines, cognitive and interpersonal skills can be developed.

> The educational approach does not assume irrationality, sickness or the necessity to convert or replace, but rather assumes that most prisoners are simply deficient in certain analytic problem solving skills, interpersonal and social skills and in ethical/moral development. Each of these deficits can be addressed most effectively through education through a process of habilitation rather than rehabilitation (Dugiud, 1981).

As supported by Yochelson and Samenow, both the medical model and environment reconditioning model assume the criminal is a victim of his upbringing, yet Ayers explains that the educational model explicitly shows the offender to be more of a decision maker. All criminals have a choice in deciding to become criminals. According to Ayers, an acceptable education model is based on three assumptions: 1) "that delinquents and criminals have deficits in cognitive, social and moral development;"

2) "that development of cognitive skills is a necessary condition for the development of interpersonal skills and for moral development;" and 3) "that the delinquent or criminal is more a decision maker than a victim or pawn."

The Classical, Positive and Critical schools all play a role in our justice system today, each one with its own agenda depending upon what social reform is being addressed at the legislative level. In a study conducted by Stephen Duguid (1981) at two British Columbian prisons, groups of students in the University of Victoria program were found to have similarities with regard to educational, family and social backgrounds. The overall majority of this group made the choice to become criminals. Their initial acts of crime were an attempt to gain status amongst peers. The group supported Samenow's theory that those inmates now addicted to drugs and alcohol were involved in criminal activity long before their involvement with drugs. The group "scorned" the idea that drug addiction, weakness of will or personality defects drove them to crime".

As Duguid spent time teaching in prison education programs and working on research for the University of Victoria program, he developed an acceptance of the idea that "common attitudes" and "thought patterns" were present in criminals as a group and supported the theory of criminal personality or that there existed a "criminal world view."

Amongst the group was the belief that attributes such as honesty and goodness are viewed as weak and that people who possess these attributes are fools. They believe people like this would testify against them in a second, so why treat them with any respect? Another belief discussed within the group was the notion that crime is directed at the poor and working class, and as a result of this victimization society owes them a

living - so they are justified in taking what society has refused them (Duguid, 1981). In the group study known as the University of Victoria, all three frames of reference as to why someone felt they were incarcerated was evidenced. No one theory has proved to be the explanation for all crimes. Each one certainly has merits of its own depending upon the type of crime committed. As discussed in this section, within each of these schools exists various theories and models of treatment depending on an individual's view of the criminal mind and what causes crime. The challenge for criminologists and correctional officials is to unify theories which will address both the custody need of the department and the rehabilitative needs of the inmate. By offering the opportunity to present situations in which decision making is practiced and formed, education programs bring about behavioral changes in the inmate/student. As cited in Duguid (1981), Clarke offers the following explanation: "To understand why some do, we should not be obsessed by personality issues, i.e. one persons psychological predilection to break the law. More likely, perceptual and cognitive processes are at work, i.e. how the individual perceives the situation and the various judgments he makes about it." These impulsive decisions may be made as a result of a situation the individual just experienced, i.e., laid off, personal tragedy, domestic problem, or as presented above due to a low cognitive and moral development. The next chapter will present some of this evidence and report the results of these theories as reflected in prison educational programs.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS ON THE INCARCERATED

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the schools of criminology and the theories related to the causes of crime as well as the types of treatment available to recondition or rehabilitate the criminal. Research of state programs in Maryland (1979, 1989, 1992), New York (1981), Illinois (1988), Arkansas (1990), Florida (1990), Alabama (1991), and Federal Bureau of Prisons (1992) indicates that correctional education and training programs have a "measurable impact" upon inmate releases into society and their ability to obtain employment or lead a crime-free lifestyle (Jenkins, 1994). In the following section I will present and discuss the research on prison settings, the effect education programs have on changing the prison environment and the types of treatment under the educational model. I will report the findings of several studies with regards to academic education, vocational education, college education, cognitive skill development, economic conditions, employment, and the effect each has on the recidivism of criminals.

B. Establishing a Realistic Setting Within the Prison Environment

The term realization is used throughout the literature to describe the process of establishing policies and programs for prison operation. Each policy and program is designed to reduce prisonization (Bennett, 1928) - a phenomenon in which inmate subcultures are created in reaction to existing management policies or directives designed to control the prisoners (Harer, 1995). Any program or policy that develops opportunities

for education and the practice of appropriate social norms is referred to as normalizing. Prisons based solely on custody oriented policies foster prisonization. These prisons follow an incarceration philosophy based upon the classical theory, which holds that behaviors are not learned and cannot be corrected without severe punishment. Studies have shown that we must provide inmates with real-life societal experiences and teach them appropriate skills and behaviors so that they might be prepared for their transitions back into the community. One cannot assume inmates enter prison knowing appropriate academic and behavioral skills or will learn them simply by adhering to prison rules and regulations. Prisoners must be provided with educational and vocational training and allowed the time necessary to practice and develop these skills if we expect them to succeed in life after prison. Some scholars would argue that citizens who do not know how to behave within the parameters of the law and societal norms are not responsible for their improper actions (Harer 1995). Normalization practices require that the inmate acknowledge responsibility for his criminal activity and then learn law-abiding ways of coping with criminal antecedents. Many normalization programs also provide a safe and secure environment for both inmates and staff. If inmates are actively involved in small or large structured groups, they have less opportunity to commit harmful acts toward others. At the same time they are being occupied, they are encountering normalization, learning, and practicing social norms that hopefully carry over with them to their housing blocks.

Contrary to the opinions of some theorists, habilitation and security can be provided simultaneously. Ayers (1981) believes that this duel-purpose prison must be developed by considering the education and incarceration programs as separate entities;

thus removing any association the inmate might make between the management needs of the institution and the implementation and goals of an educational program. Otherwise, inmates may assume that the program really has nothing of benefit to offer them and that the only reason for participation is to accumulate "good time, enhance his parole file, or just get away from the stressful environment of the cell block (Davidson, 1995). Ayers believes that programs directed by outside agencies, which operate independent of the institution, will promote intellectual social and moral growth of inmates.

Connecticut education programs in prison are structured in just this way. Unified School District #1 is responsible for the organization, implementation and on-going coordination of all education programs within the Connecticut Department of Correction. As one of Connecticut's largest public school districts, USD #1 selects only certified teachers and ensures that they are continually developed in accord with standards applicable to all public school teachers in the state. Many programs operating under the direction of a warden must rely on non-certified volunteers or inmate tutors to provide instruction. Ayers believes, that inmates who perceive teachers and educational programs to be "outside" of the prison system will increase their participation and meet with greater success. This is not the philosophy followed in Connecticut. I do not believe this philosophy is conducive to developing a positive working relationship with custody personnel within the correctional facility. In order to ensure the daily operation of programs and consistent scheduling, prison officials and staff must believe the teacher is part of their team and dedicated to the primary function of security. Separating the educational program from the facility would create a breakdown in the support received from the custody staff and limit the effectiveness of the program.

As stated above, the alternative to normalization is pure custody incarceration wherein prisoners remain idle, immobile, and in many cases are exposed to the same criminal elements and activities that led to their incarceration. They are unable to learn, practice, and experience the skills and norms they need to break their cycles of crime. Instead they become further lost in its influence. This incarceration approach is neither correctional nor rehabilitative. Normalization fosters correction and rehabilitation while it promotes a secure prison environment. A safe facility reduces the number of incidents and reduces the cost of incarceration. If we can maintain a safe environment while giving inmates the opportunity to learn necessary social skills, obtain an education, strengthen cognitive skills and receive help for an addiction, then we are providing true correctional services.

1. Creating Societal Norms Within the Prison Walls

Normalization is utilized in both the American and European prison system. Although normalization is not part of their prison vernacular, European prisons borrow from many programs based on normalization. Two articles from their rules and regulations which mirror the normalization philosophy are Articles 81, which states "that as far as practicable the education should be integrated with the educational system of the country" and Article 65 which states "that the conditions of life in prison should be compatible with acceptable standards in the community." Reflective of these tenets, European prison life is structured to resemble life in the general community.

Prison activities are designed so that the inmate has an opportunity to develop responsibility, independence, self-confidence and other virtues, which will better his chances of leading a crime-free life.

Applying the normalization theory to education would mean that prisoners have the same opportunities for education as members of the community. It has been suggested that programs offered to inmates should as much as possible reflect those offered to citizens outside the prison walls. This would include attendance at educational programs in the civilian community, which is only possible with level one inmates who already live in the public residences but are still under the jurisdiction of the department of correction. Current department directives prohibit most level two inmates, those confined within a correctional facility, from participating in programs outside the prison walls without direct supervision by correctional staff. The Connecticut Department of Correction offers adult and vocational education as well as college courses to all inmates, eliminating the need to remove prisoners from correctional facilities in order to effectively educate and socialize them.

The findings of 500 studies showed that custody without education and treatment has little success in reducing recidivism (International Association of Residential and Community Alternatives, 1993). When custody was accompanied by education programming, a 10 to 20 percent reduction in recidivism was reported. Even alternative incarceration programs such as boot camps were ineffective in reducing recidivism unless they included education, treatment services and aftercare and reintegration assistance (I.A.R.C.A. 1993). Expecting prisoners to rehabilitate without education is like handing an unskilled laborer a hammer and commanding him to build a house. Only with the proper tools and a working knowledge of the trade does that laborer have a chance of successfully constructing the house. The classical theorist approach of strict custody and discipline has not shown to be effective. We can provide a controlled environment, but

without providing the necessary instruction, the opportunity to learn how to make a rational decision, and the opportunity to think independently, we cannot expect inmates to change.

Normalization asserts that behavior can be changed through reintroduction or introduction to proper norms. As stated earlier, some experts believe criminal behavior is the result of socialization rather than the consequence of a sickness. Providing inmates with a structured environment and the opportunity to learn how to make the right decisions will better prepare them to re-enter the real world. By reintroducing them to the school and work environment through academic and vocational courses, we can provide both the theoretical instruction and the practical application in a setting conducive to learning and mutual respect. Individual interests can be discovered in a classroom. Vocational courses can bring these individual interests to life, providing real world applications for desired skills and creating a marketable individual. Along with the growth of interests and skills, inmates get the experience of practicing proper social norms in structured environments, which reflect the functioning civilian world. The alternative to this effective normalization philosophy serves only to secure and control the prison facility, offering little correction of rehabilitation and ultimately resulting in prisonization.

2. Work Details vs. Education Programs

In research studies conducted by the Oregon State Board of Control (1969), it was found that general institutional work assignments have little practical utility outside the institution (Schumaker, D., Anderson, S., Anderson, 1990). Schumaker et al. found only twenty-five to thirty-four percent of the inmates seek jobs similar to those held while

incarcerated. It is difficult to develop work assignments or detail assignments that will actively engage inmates for a prolonged period of time and teach them an employable skill. One of the barriers that inhibit such a process is the overcrowding of our prisons. Joan Petersila (1978) found that there are not enough meaningful work details or programs to occupy all inmates. Consequently, many of them spend time doing nothing. Prisoners given menial work assignments learn to perform only those simple tasks. Problem solving, social and basic life skills are not required or acquired on a work detail. Given the paucity of meaningful work, and the fact that many of the individuals have meager job skills and poor work habits, educational and vocational training are needed to actively engage incarcerated inmates and gainfully employ ex-inmates. The following research studies show just how significantly academic education, vocational training, and college courses impact recidivism.

C. The Effect Academic and Vocational Programs Have on Incarcerated Adult Males

As discussed above, work details have shown to have little effect on the inmate in terms of developing life skills needed for his or her reintegration into society. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the effect meaningful academic, vocational and college education programs have on the cognitive skill development, social reconditioning, employment, and recidivism of incarcerated adult males.

A study was conducted in New Mexico to determine if the vocational programs offered in four correctional facilities supported the Santa Fe Community College's Mission Statement. The report asked two questions: are New Mexico correctional programs, through education and training, preparing their inmates to become socially

responsible and self-supporting; and, are New Mexico prison officials meeting the expectations of legislatures and other funding sources that consider the effectiveness of vocational training in reducing recidivism? (Downes, Monaco, Schreiber,1989). The vocational education test group consisted of 56 men and 10 women, ages 20 through 64 years. Twenty-four participants were Caucasian, 19 males and 5 females. Of the 42 non-white participants, 37 were men and 5 women. The majority of the participants had taken 5 to 9 credit hours of course work. The study also considered the repeat-offenses risk score of each participant. Twenty-nine vocational participants were categorized as high risk and 37 as low risk.

A comparison of the vocational education group with a non-vocational education group was conducted to identify which subjects violated parole. Surprisingly, the college found that 15% of the vocational education group was successful while 18% of the non-vocational group was successful. The authors did caution, however, that at the time the findings were reported 50% of the participants were still working toward completing parole. Only time would indicate if they violated or completed their parole. Another noteworthy consideration is the limited hours of individual program participation, as only 61% had completed as much as 9 credit hours. The study did reveal that of those still working, the employment rates and salary rates were higher for those who received vocational training. And the vocational participants employment rate over time showed a 9% increase, while the non-vocational group showed a 3% decrease. The study showed little difference between the high and low risk groups. Of the 37 low risk people in the vocational education group, 16 were employed as of the first assessment and the number dropped to 14 by the time of the follow-up assessment. The low risk non-vocational

group reported 14 persons employed at the original assessment and 17 employed at the follow up assessment. The high-risk vocational group employment rate was four times greater than those in the non-vocational group. At the very least, the study shows that vocational training can enhance an inmates opportunity for employment and increase his contribution to society.

Between January 1987 and June 1987, correctional facilities from eight Midwestern states conducted a study to determine what effect academic and or vocational education had on ex-inmates' abilities to obtain and maintain employment. The first three groups in the study were formally incarcerated individuals who had either academic or vocational training or both prior to release. These groups were compared to a control group of inmates released with no correctional vocational training. A total of 760 released inmates from 19 adult correctional institutions were studied over a 12-month period. The inmates were studied based on the following four groupings: individuals who received vocational training while incarcerated, individuals who received academic instruction while incarcerated, individuals who received both vocational training and academic instruction in prison, and a control group of releases that did not receive any academic or vocational education form prison educators.

Subjects from each institution were randomly selected between May and July of 1986. The subjects were tracked for a year and assessed monthly based upon information from parole officers and with follow up reports after each month based on information from their parole officer and state unemployment data. Data was collected from each correctional institution, which provided academic and vocational background information on each subject selected for the study. The data was then forwarded to the parole officers

of the individuals being released. The parole officers recorded monthly evaluations of the released inmates' progress and sent to the twelve-month series of evaluations to the authors for coding and analysis. The Department of Correction Correctional Institution Management Information System database then compiled and verified by the information.

The findings of the study were as follows: in a comparison between those who violated parole and those who did not, 22 out of 107 (21%) individuals who took vocational subjects violated parole. Of those individuals who participated in both vocational and academic education, 22 out of 118 (19%) individuals violated parole, and of those who participated in just academic education 54 out of 248 (22%) violated parole. In the control group, 80 out of 287 (28%) individuals violated parole. Out of the three groups involved with vocational and or academic education, those individuals with just academic education and no vocational training had the highest rate of parole violation. The control group, who received no vocational training, exceeded all groups in parole violation.

The next comparison analyzed the employment and unemployment status of the subjects. After 12 months of tracking the released subjects, 40 of the 107 (38%) individuals who only participated in vocational courses were unemployed, 32(30%) were employed. The remainder violated parole or were discharged from the department of correction. Of those who participated in both vocational training and academic education, 36 of the 118 (31%) individuals were unemployed and 46 of the 118 (39%) were employed.

Of those individuals who had only received academic training, 116 out of 248 (47%) were unemployed while 52 out of 248 (21%) were employed. Of those in the control group not enrolled in academic or vocational courses, 100 of the 287 (35%) were unemployed and 68 of the 287 (24%) were employed.

The vocational and vocational/academic group had the highest employment and lowest parole violation rate. Of the two groups, those who received both vocational training and academic education had the highest success rate. The academic only group had the highest rate of unemployment and the second highest rate of criminal activity and parole violation. It was also found that those with academic only status who earned a GED or higher had a higher employment rate and lower criminal activity rate than those who had not obtained their GED upon release (Schumaker, 1990). As indicated above, vocational training is associated with lower recidivism rates and higher employment rates. Mace (as cited in Downes et al. 1989) found that the non-recidivists earned a significantly higher salary and that ex-offenders who participate in vocational, academic, and job placement programs experience an 80% job retention rate (Downes, 1989; Acquilano, 1972).

Vocational programs and services have grown significantly over the past few years. Programs have been concerned with developing specific job skills that are beneficial to incarcerated individuals being released into society (Halascz, 1982).

Vocational education in Oklahoma prisons began in 1971 with the establishment of the Ouachita Vo-Tech Skills Center (Friedeman & Rice, 1992). The purpose of the following study was to provide information to state legislators regarding the success of vocational programs within the Oklahoma prisons. At the time of the study, the only

reported success that vocational programs had on the employment of its participants was reported from the public vocational-technical school system in Oklahoma. Even with documented success of area vocational-technical school system programs, it remained difficult for legislatures who are supporting the views of their constituents to fund vocational programs within the Oklahoma State Prisons. The legislators questioned whether the public vocational-technical school system could be transferred into programs in correctional facilities that would effectively reduce repeat offenses, increase employment opportunities for ex-offenders, and provide a safer society for their constituents.

The following study was conducted for the purpose of demonstrating that the training provided in skill centers within prisons in Oklahoma was equivalent to the training in the public vocational-technical school system and could produce the same market-ready, competitive quality graduates. The result of such documentation would increase advocacy for more vocational programs in prisons.

Friedemann and Rice (1992) used a non-equivalent control group design to test the null hypothesis, Ho: "There is no difference in the cognitive learning granted in occupational achievement in minimum/medium security inmates enrolled in vocational technical skills centers and post secondary students enrolled in similar programs in area vocational-technical schools."

Seventy-five post secondary students from area vocational-technical schools and 90 minimum and medium security inmates enrolled in vocational technical skills centers were administered the same occupational test at the beginning and end of the study period. Scores were looked at to determine what effect the independent variable (incarceration) had on the dependent variable (cognitive growth).

The mean age for both groups was similar (30.3 years for the area vocational-technical school student and 31.6 years for the inmate/student). The study measured for growth in two areas: occupational growth and cognitive growth. In occupational growth comparisons, the area vocational technical school students achieved higher post-test scores in word processing, while the inmate/student group achieved higher post-test scores in horticulture. In terms of cognitive growth, the inmate/student showed greater cognitive achievement in horticulture, while all other areas were reported to have been equal for both groups. Among other conclusions, the research appears to find that the inmate/student can achieve gains in occupational achievement at a level equal to or greater than post-secondary students enrolled in similar programs in the vocational-technical schools. This suggests that DOC educational programs may replicate or even beat the results achieved by the area vocational-technical schools.

The next study, Black et al. (1996) involving the Virginia Department of Correctional Education (formally known as the Rehabilitative School Authority), compares the impact of vocational training and academic education on recidivism. After being mandated to better prepare incarcerated youths for return to public school or the adult labor market, the Virginia Department of Correctional Education shifted from a 1960 reform philosophy to the 1969 treatment philosophy. The Virginia Juvenile

Center's initial treatment programs were based on the philosophy that incarcerated youths primarily needed vocational training and that academic education was only needed as support in the vocational classes. After realizing that this approach left many youths with inadequate academic educations, more emphasis began to be placed on academic education. This led to the 1974 Rehabilitative School Authority legislation. This agency was mandated by statute to provide incarcerated youths and adults with an appropriate academic and vocational education.

Until recently, as is the case in many states, no real data had been maintained in Virginia to determine the impact their prison educational programs had on post-incarceration employment and education. In order to address this need, the Virginia Department of Correctional Education implemented a transition program staffed with a transition specialist to provide counseling, post incarceration information with regard to employment, education, and records maintenance for 6 months on each individual released into society.

In 1992 the Virginia Department of Correction, along with the transition specialist working at the Natural Bridge Juvenile Correctional Center, began to collect data regarding youth involvement with employment and education upon release. This data was then analyzed with regard to the programming they received while incarcerated. Through the assistance of the individuals probation counselor, the transition counselor was able to gather data on 207 of the 248 students who were released from the Natural Bridge Juvenile Correctional Center. Demographic information gathered included the following: 1) Identifying information (including name, state file number, program entry date, program release date, and release plan); 2) Vocational programming and

competencies completed; 3) Certificates earned in academic or vocational fields; 4) Probation officer's name and Court Service Unit, and 5) follow-up contact information (including current school, employment, and any court involvement).

During the calendar year 1993, 41 students (17%) were not included in the study for a number of reasons, including the fact that some students transferred out of state and some counselors did not respond to requests for information.

The data was grouped into six categories: 1) Academic and vocational achievements of all students enrolled in the DCE programs at the Center, 2) Performance of students after release from the Center, 3) Correlations between specific educational achievements and employment, 4) Correlations between performance of identified special education students and total population, 5) Correlations between performance of students involved in a substance abuse treatment program and students who were not involved in a substance abuse treatment program, and 6) Correlations between the student's length of stay at the Center and future court involvement.

Of the original 248 students, 54 (22%) earned a GED while at the center. Thirty-two (32) out of 248 (13%) earned a Vocational Certificate. One hundred eight out of 248 (44%) earned a Vocational Certificate of Credit. A Vocational Certificate of Credit was awarded to students who completed segments of a vocational program but not the whole program. In tracking the 207 students for which data could be collected post-release, the following information was reported: Forty-three out of 207 (20%) were enrolled in an education program. Forty-three out of 207 (20%) were employed.

Twenty-seven out of 207 (13%) were both in school and employed. Forty-five out of 207 (23%) were neither in school or employed, but remained free of legal trouble. Twenty out of 207 (10%) had charges pending and twenty-nine out of 207 (15%) had recidivated.

With this information, the following correlations were made for the purpose of evaluating program services. As previous findings have indicated, the more programs students participated in, the greater the employment rate for that group. Thirty-six percent of those students who earned the more limited vocational certificate of credit were found to be employed. Fifty percent of those students who earned the vocational certificate of completion, but not the GED, were found to be employed. Fifty-eight percent of those students who earned the GED were found to be employed, and one hundred percent of those students who earned both a vocational certificate of completion and a GED were found to be employed. The following conclusions were drawn from this data. Students who earned both a GED and a vocational certificate were three times more likely to be employed six months after release.

Students who earned a GED or Vocational Certificate of Completion were twice as likely to be employed six months after release; students who earned only a Vocational Certificate of Credit were no more likely to be employed. Within this same study, group information was collected on those who recidivated regarding whether or not individuals had been recommitted to state care as juveniles, sentenced to a circuit court as an adult, or waiting trial on pending charges. Forty-nine (49) of the 207 (24%) fell into one of these three categories. This information was correlated against their length of stay at the Center.

Eight of the 49 (16%) had lengths of stay lasting six months or more; ten of the 49 (21%) had lengths of stay of more than three months, but less than six months; and thirty-one of the 49 (63%) had lengths of stay of three months or less.

The researcher found that those with a longer period of incarceration were less likely to recidivate. The researcher makes an important point that those whose original sentence was longer had committed the more serious crime but were less likely to recommit a crime once released, as opposed to those committing less serious crimes and receiving a shorter sentence.

Many researchers have indicated that correctional education brings about a change in the inmate. Due to the lack of control inmates have over their environment, they develop a sense of "personal inefficacy" which causes them to see themselves as being incapable of surviving in a more independant environment (Parker, 1990). The inmates feel they cannot survive outside the institutional setting. Many inmates do not respect or act responsibly towards themselves or others. The structure of a prison is such that inmates are told what to do and when to do it. Decisions are made for them and they are given little responsibility. Inmates who are able to retain their self-esteem and autonomy while incarcerated will make a smoother readjustment to society upon release (Goodstein, 1979). Studies also indicate that inmates who participate in vocational programs are more independent and adjust better to a free society while on parole (Downes et al.).

Although academic education and vocational education alone will not prevent an inmate from returning to prison, many of the previous studies suggest that education is a major factor in reducing recidivism rates.

Educational programs need to be designed and implemented to address the changing needs of a growing prison population and evaluated on a regular basis to insure programs are operating efficiently and providing the necessary skills needed for post-release success. Academic programs must be designed to prepare the inmate to pass the GED and encourage the pursuit of a post-secondary education.

As indicated in the studies between academic education and vocational training, vocational training had a greater impact on post-release employment success. Vocational programs must offer job-training skills which meet the needs of a changing job market to ensure a smooth transition in the work place.

One of the primary dilemmas in corrections today is the rapid release of inmates into society (Jackson, 1989). Due to system overcrowding, many inmates are being transferred from one institution to another or released from prison before they can complete vocational and/or educational programs. Vocational curriculums should be standardized throughout a school district so inmates who transfer from one institution to another can complete their specific programs (Schumaker, 1990).

In addition to pre-GED academic courses and vocational training, studies on post-secondary courses have reported lower recidivism rates and increased employment rates among post-release participants.

In 1987, Miles D. Harer conducted one of the most respected studies on recidivism to date. Harer (1995) studied the recidivism of 7000 federal prisoners who were released between January 1987 and June 1987. Using a control group and research methodology, Harer reported that recidivism rates were inversely related to the completion of educational programming.

The higher the number of educational programs inmates completed, the lower was their recidivism rate. Harer also indicates greater success with additional post-secondary education.

The study was reported in five parts. For the purpose of this paper I will report mainly on the findings related to education programs and some additional findings indirectly related to education and treatment. Major findings of the study revealed: 1) 40.8 percent of the 1205 released recidivated; 2) recidivism rates were highest during the first year after release; 3) the older the person was at the time of release, the lower the recidivism rate; 4) those incarcerated for fraud or drug trafficking had the lowest recidivism rate, while those incarcerated for a crime against a person (robbery, murder) had the highest; 5) the higher the education completed at the beginning of their incarceration, the lower the recidivism rate; 6) persons who were employed or participated in education programs for a period of at least 6 months within 2 years prior to entering prison had a lower recidivism rate; 7) recidivism rates were related to pre-prison drug and alcohol abuse; 8) recidivism rates were higher among those who received misconduct reports while incarcerated; 9) the more educational programs completed while incarcerated, the lower the recidivism rate; 10) the length of sentences was unrelated to the recidivism rate and 11) persons living with a spouse after release had lower recidivism rates.

Background characteristics, prison experiences, and release conditions were also studied to determine what impact if any they had on recidivism rates. Examining background characteristics in terms of race, blacks had the highest recidivism rate (58.8%), followed by American Indians (53.3%) and whites (33.5%). Hispanics had a higher rate of recidivism (45.2%) than Non-Hispanics (40.2%).

With regard to age, the older the inmate at the time of release, the lower the recidivism rate. Of those 25 and under (64), 56.6% recidivated; of those 26-35 (252), 49.8% recidivated; of those 36-45 (129), 36.0% recidivated; of those 46-55 (33), 23.1% recidivated; and of those 56 and over (13), 15.3% recidivated.

It was also found that the offense for which they were incarcerated was a strong determinant for the likelyhood of recidivism (See appendix A Table 14 for a list of charges associated with those released and the number and percent recidivating within each category).

In terms of educational background, those with more complete educations had lower recidivism rates. Of those with an education level of eighth grade or lower, 86/171 (50.3%) recidivated. 186/341 (54.6%) of those with some high school experience recidivated. Of those released with a high school diploma, 135/362 (37.3%) recidivated. Of those who had completed some college course work, 61/207 (29.5%) recidivated. Only 5/93 (5.4%) of those with a college degree recidivated.

Similar results were reported for those who received their educations while incarcerated. Of the inmates who did not participate in any courses, Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Education Development (GED), Adult Continuing Education (ACE) Post Secondary Education (PSE), Vocational Education or Social Skill Training, 296/671 (44.1%) recidivated.

Of those participating in a course but not completing it, 71/163 (39%) recidivated. 57/163 (35%) of the inmates who completed at least one course recidivated. A further study was done to group program participants by grade level upon incarceration. (see appendix B table 15).

Though GED preparatory programs and vocational training programs help reduce recidivism, many of the jobs in the labor market today require at least a year and a half of post secondary education (Johnston and Packer 1987). The following studies focus on the effectiveness college programs have on an incarcerated individual's cognitive skill development, post release employment, and recidivism rate. In addition I will discuss the findings from one of the foremost studies on correctional education, the Newgate Program.

D. The Effects of Post Secondary Education on Recidivism

Winter and Mather (1993) describe a typical inmate as a high school dropout with manipulative behavior and a passive learning style who attributes his academic success to individual factors. These are individuals who are functionally illiterate and have never held a full-time job. Most of these individuals were involved with crime as juveniles and used drugs and alcohol regularly. In my own observations and interviews I find this to be accurate. "One of the consistent findings in research in Higher Education is that persons

from lower and working class families are less likely to attend college and more likely to drop out (particularly during the first semester) if they do attend than those from middle and upper class families (Seashore & Haberfeld, 1976; Sewell, 1964).

Evidence exists that links prison educational programs to better self-esteem and a more positive attitude towards society (Goodstein, 1979). Research projects conducted between 1972 and 1986 have studied the relationship between those inmates enrolled in post-secondary education and those inmates who are non-post-secondary participants in relation to recidivism. An 80% recidivism rate was reduced to 10% when comparing inmates who did not attend college while incarcerated to groups who did study at the post-seondary level while in prison (Urner, 1977).

Using an ex-post facto design, inmates were placed into three groups: inmates who had a GED, inmates with a high school diploma, and inmates with some college education. They studied the inmates in each group who while in prison, participated in post-secondary education and those who did not participate in higher education, looking for the related effect on recidivism. They found a small but statistically significant difference between the two groups at the 0.05 level, with a phi coefficient of 0.14352. Ninety-two percent of the sample were still out in the "free world" and 7.7% were recidivists. However, of the 7.7%, 11.5% were non post-secondary participants while only 3.9% had been in the correctional post-secondary educational program. In a second study on the relationship of the types of crime committed and the participation or non-participation in a correctional post-secondary education program, no relationship was found.

Based upon the findings of the study, it is the author's conclusion that correctional education programs result in a decrease in recidivism. The programs also prepare the inmate psychologically for reentry into the "free world."(O'Neal, 1990)

1. College Courses offer Increased Cognitive Skill Development

The goal of education in the correctional environment is to raise one's cognitive development in order to affect the way he or she analyses, perceives, interprets and acts in specific situations. Studies reveal this goal is accomplished by creating an environment that is perceived to be separate from the correctional facility and by developing curriculum which nourishes cognitive growth. Mathematics, the sciences, and philosophy courses have been found to be effective for developing logical thought and reasoning, while English literature and history courses have been found to promote cognitive growth and moral reasoning (Duguid, 1979;Kohlberg, 1975 as cited Lucien Morin eds pg 147.).

In a study conducted by Ayers (1974) in Canada, the United States and Great Britain in 1974-75, inmates enrolled in various educational programs, including GED, trade school, and college programs both at the community college level and university level, were asked a series of questions. The questions targeted the cognitive, affective and educational effects education programs had on them in specific post-secondary programs. Three open-ended questions were asked of each participant. The responses to the survey question, "What effects, if any, has the program had on you?" were classified into one of the three categories listed above. The results of the survey indicate the majority of the responses from those in courses other than at the university level were classified as educational effect responses.

Inmates were in those courses for the improved job potential, the enjoyment of a specific course, or to help pass their prison time, not to make themselves better people.

Those enrolled in University courses tended to give more cognitive or affective responses as to what effect the courses had on them. This was especially true of those inmates/students participating in humanities and social science courses. In courses where students learn about the behavior of themselves and others, they responded by having gained a greater insight into people and society and having learned to act according to their new insight.

Canadian prison participants offered a greater number of responses that fell into the cognitive categories. This was due to a greater number of full time programs and humanities courses than are found in American and Great Britain prisons. These students responded with such statements as "can take an outside perspective," and "can see both sides of an issue." These responses are indicative of someone who may have changed his or her values, and is more open-minded and accepting of another person's viewpoints. In the second sub-heading under cognitive effects, "more accepting of society" inmate/student responses were indicative of someone who has acquired a better understanding of society, the role they are expected to play in society, and the role of others with whom they share society. While working with lawmakers and adult prisoners, Lawrence Kohlberg recognized and emphasized the need to include "role taking" as part of any program. He felt it helped increase the inmate's ability to empathize, which was "critical to cognitive and moral development (Duguid 1981).

The study did not find education prior to incarceration had an effect on the type of response given. The level of expectations in terms of commitment and assignments placed upon them by their current instructor seemed to be critical. Students seem to respond better to the assertive teachers with high standards than the authoritarian or lax teacher. The students' evaluation of these programs emphasizes not only what courses should be offered, but it is also an evaluation of the students ability to analytically respond to questions. It was apparent from their responses that students/inmates enrolled in the humanities and social science courses had experienced intellectual, social and moral growth (Ayers, 1981). The establishment of an environment, which is perceived by the inmates as separate from the correctional facility, is essential to the success of these programs. One of the most comprehensive studies of this concept, Project Newgate, was initiated and funded by the Office of Economic and Opportunity (OEO) beginning in 1967 (Williford, 1994). Many programs which succeeded Project Newgate were based on the findings reported from this study.

2. Project Newgate

This study was conducted by the firm of Marshall, Kaplan, Gains & Kahn, for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The study gathered data from eight college education programs in federal and state prisons between 1972 and 1973. The purpose of the study was to examine and compare the structure and success of a prison college program known as "Project Newgate" with other non-Newgate college programs operating during the same period. Project Newgate originated in Oregon State Prison in 1967 and was named in honor of Newgate Penitentiary in England, considered the pioneer of combining rehabilitation with punishment (Seashore & Haberfeld, 1976).

Five of the eight programs involved in the study were Newgate Projects: 1) the Federal Youth Center in Ashland, Kentucky; 2) the Minnesota State Reformatory in St. Cloud, Minnesota; 3)the New Mexico State Prison in Santa Fe, New Mexico; 4)the Oregon State Prison in Salem, Oregon; and 4) the Rockview State Correctional Institution in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. The other three programs which were variations of the Newgate model were located at the Federal Correctional Institution, Lompoc, California; the Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard Branch; and the Texas Department of Corrections, Eastham unit.

Similar to Connecticut correctional educational programs, each of the programs offered undergraduate liberal arts courses through accredited colleges or universities in close proximity to the prison. Variations in the programs included the amount of additional support services offered during and after incarceration. Two of the three non-Newgate Programs, Illinois State Penitentiary and the Texas Department of Corrections, offered programs most similar to Connecticut's, providing little more than the courses and an opportunity for rehabilitation. The third non-Newgate Program at Federal Correctional Institution, Lompoc, offered more of a college environment within the prison walls by providing a lounge, special interest classes, the development of various clubs, and the opportunity for informal contacts with people from the university who assisted in a smoother post-release transition from prison to college. However, Seashore and Haberfeld mention this was not motivated by the belief that this would further enhance successful post-incarceration adjustment, rather it was lobbied for by the mostly middle class inmate population at Lompoc.

The Newgate Programs all varied slightly in their implementation, but all offered counseling services, post-incarceration support, job placement, and financial assistance in addition to a liberal arts course of study.

The study focused on the following areas: 1) Evaluating the program process: What was the structure, function and impact of these college programs operating within the prison walls? 2) Evaluation of academic achievement: How much did students achieve and what correlation could be made to their background characteristics? 3) Evaluation of post-prison performance: Were there measurable differences of post-incarceration success between the Newgate participants and the non-Newgate participants? 4)Evaluation of program impact on post-prison performance: What specific aspects of one program could be attributed to inmate post-incarceration success? 5) An analysis of cost and benefits. 6) Providing a description of a model program.

By conducting an evaluation of the program's process, Seashore & Haberfeld attempted to answer three questions: 1) Were the programs effective in fulfilling their educational purposes? 2) What was the nature and extent of these programs' impact on their environment? 3) Were the programs surviving in the prison context? Their research was set up to measure what was thought to be three major dimensions of an effective educational system. The system must challenge the student, provide personal social space, and offer a supportive framework. Their conclusions reported the program rated high in three of the five institutions with Newgate programs: Rockview State Correctional Institution in Pennsylvania, Minnesota State Reformatory, and New Mexico State Prison. The Newgate programs in the other two institutions, Ashland and Oregon State Prison, were rated as medium.

The three non-Newgate programs, Lompoc Federal Corrections Institution in California, the Illinois State Penitentiary, and the Texas Department of Corrections were rated as low.

The research of the programs not only evaluated them in terms of education goals achieved, but also in terms of the impact the programs had on the prison environment. The study analyzed the programs based on the following criteria: 1) cognitive changes; 2) procedural changes; 3) changes in the policy-making power structure.

The research concluded the program had an impact on the environment in invoking a cognitive change and procedural change in that the institution recognized the program and made adjustments to the routine and the regulations of the institution to accommodate the structure of the program.

Another task of the study was to determine what components of the program were needed to ensure its long-term survival. In terms of the programs survival, the study identified seven "crisis points" the Office of Economic and Opportunity felt necessary for the on-going effectiveness of the program. 1) program direction and operation: Who will have authority over the program? 2) Program funding: Who will absorb the cost of the program continuation? 3) Staff hiring: Who will be responsible for the hiring of the staff ? 4) Student admissions: Who will decide which students/inmates will be eligible to participate ? 5) University involvement: Who will be responsible to supply instructors and curriculum ? 6) Program integration with Prison Staff: To what extent will the college instructors interact with prison staff ? 7) Community integration: Will the program operate as its own entity or become involved with other groups or institutions? The study concluded a positive role in all these areas would be critical to the future

success of the program in any prison. Connecticut's correctional college program has followed much the same guidelines in establishing and maintaining relationships with area community colleges and providing programming inside our institutions. In each of the four community colleges with which we work, the college's involvement varies from just providing the instructors and courses to providing the instructors, courses, materials, counseling and a transition program from prison to the community.

The research to identify the academic achievement of an inmate/student in the program was based on three major issues: 1) The educational achievement of participants in the college program while in prison; 2) The impact of the program on the long range educational achievement of participants; 3) The relationship between program structure and the impact of the program on participant

The participants in the study were incarcerated adult males ages 17-49, with the majority in their mid 20's. Most came from low socio-economic backgrounds and had been incarcerated in the past. The study sample was limited to those inmates/students who had completed at least 12 credit hours. Marshall et al. notes not all participants included in the study completed the 12 credit hours while incarcerated. Some of the participants completed some or all of these credits as ex-offenders, while enrolled in outside classes offered by the program. As mentioned, we do not have the ability to control the extent to which the instruction influences the student or how the instructor grades the student. There is no evidence to indicate that the participants in this program were treated or graded differently from a regular college student. T.A.A. Parlett (as cited in Duguid, 1981) cautions against reporting general results; rather, he suggests exact specification of the parameters in which the program will be offered and in which the

results will be reported. Uncontrollable variables such as teacher disposition, environment, and course level must not be presumed to have an affect on the inmate/student. Instructors who teach college programs in Connecticut Prisons state that behavior and attitude toward education of the inmate/student is more serious than those on the outside. Though the study of inmate academic achievement did not indicate a significant difference in comparison to someone enrolled in civilian courses, it was recognized that those students who had entered prison as a high school drop out were exiting prison as college students.

In terms of post-release achievement, the following were measured: 1) educational goals 2) college enrollment 3) college credits completed post-release 4) level of performance post-release. Depending upon the inmates interviewed and the institution in which they were incarcerated, obtaining a college degree was not the reason why they began taking courses in the program. Over 40% of the inmates/students in Minnesota, New Mexico and Pennsylvania reported that obtaining a degree was why they entered the program, while 42% of these interviewed at Ashland, Illinois and Texas reported a degree was not the reason they entered the program. It is also noted that 62% of those in the Texas program, a non-Newgate program, who had reported that a degree was the reason why they entered the program, did not continue college after release to obtain a degree. In most other programs, only 15% did not continue taking courses after release. The participants in the Illinois, Oregon and Pennsylvania program had the highest percent of those participants who did obtain a degree. Over 90% of participants in the Newgate program, when interviewed upon release, indicated that they planned to continue college. This was attributed to the higher level of follow-up assistance provided by the university

or college than in other non-Newgate programs. It was also found that those institutions where a "study release" program was implemented, in which enrollment in a college program was made a condition of parole, the drop out rate was much less even after their parole time was served. It is interesting to note that the drop out rate of those who enrolled after release was lower in the non-Newgate Program participants. It was felt this was due to the larger percentage who dropped out once released because of a lack of a transition program in the non-Newgate Program and that the ex-offenders who did enroll did so on their own and were more committed to taking courses.

The level of performance was measured for all students who had completed at least one course after release. In the different programs, the grade point average of all participants ranged from 2.0 to 3.7, with a median of 2.5. With 11-20 percent making honor roll in their individual program.

In terms of overall academic achievement, the study looked at the number of participants who continued their course work and the number who had completed or were near completion of a bachelor degree program. It was projected that if participants continued on the path they were on when the study was conducted, approximately 45% of those originally enrolled in the outside program from Oregon and Pennsylvania would graduate with a Bachelor's Degree. The percentage dropped to 28% for Lompoc and Illinois and less for the other programs.

Marshall et al. attributes this to the amount of counseling and support services offered as part of the Newgate Program that was not offered in the other programs. Even when they looked at the non-Newgate Programs, the colleges or universities which offered the most assistance in terms of admission and financial aid reported a higher

degree-completion success rate. In addition to the socio-economic status impacting these participants, those who had already attended college prior to participation in a prison program experienced a higher rate of success than those who entered with education less than or equal to a high school diploma. If you look at the background of those individuals who had attended college prior to incarceration, you will find they were from middle to upper class families and traditionally experienced a higher rate of success in college programs. It would be difficult to say whether they would have continued after release even if they were not in the Newgate Program, though they did progress at a faster rate while enrolled in the program.

Overall, it was found that participants in the Newgate Program experienced greater success than those in the other college programs. This success was attributed to the additional services and level of outside support offered by the Newgate Program. Seashore and Haberfeld recommend the establishment of programs which attract persons who would not otherwise participate in college courses to enroll in them. Based upon studies by Irving and Rootman (1972) which indicate that the level of social and academic integration a student receives has an impact on their enrollment and success in pursuing a college degree (Seashore, Haberfeld, 1976; Rootman, 1971), community colleges have begun offering programs for college credit within the high school in order to begin to attract and condition students to the college experience. This program, called "Tech Prep," has been recently developed and implemented in community colleges throughout the United States. The program aims to attract students who would not otherwise elect to attend college and allows them to accrue up to 12 college credits while still enrolled in high school. Connecticut has been a part of this new program since its

inception in 1996. This increases the amount of credits an inmate/student can earn prior to release. I believe the more credits a student/inmate earns while incarcerated the greater his/her chances are of continuing his degree program upon release. The previous studies have shown a correlation between higher education and increased post-incarceration success. In the following paragraphs I will report on the effects education had on post-incarceration employment. The studies examine what effect pre-incarceration employment and education, length of sentence, and participation in education programs while incarcerated have had on post-incarceration employment.

E. The Effect of Pre-Employment and Educational Programming On Post-release Employment

In recent years a growing body of research of post release follow-up studies on both employment and recidivism time indicated that participation in Correctional Education Programming is related to increased post release employment, lower criminal activity and lower rates of recidivism (Harer, 1995). The following studies report the effects incarcerated educational programming have on post-release employment rates. The studies will demonstrate a strong correlation between increased education and post-release employment.

A study by Kitchener, Schmidt, and Glaser (1977) conducted on 903 inmates released from Federal Institutions found that the employment status of inmates prior to incarceration played a role in their post-release status. The longer an individual had been employed in a single job prior to incarceration, the lower the recidivism rate (Downes, Monaco, & Schreiber 1989). Larkin (1975) found ex-offenders who were unemployed or experienced sporadic employment prior to incarceration were four times more likely to

fail on parole than those employed (Downes et al.). Barry, Becker, and Sonenshine, (1974) found that the greater amount of time an inmate spent in a training program while incarcerated, the greater their later employment success (Downes et al.)

Klient Fridhov (as cited in Langelid, 1996) found that three out of four offenders on probation have no experience in the work environment. Twenty percent have permanent disability benefits and forty-three percent are supported partially or completely by public assistance.

When asked what factors should be present if they should lead a law-abiding life, offenders on probation answered the following:

87% permanent place to live

67% Narcotics free environment

52% An established intimate relationship

50% Organized help to live Narcotics free life

48% Children

20% Marriage

16% Religious Faith

7% Stable employment

7% Education

Two of the most critical areas I have documented as needed for a successful crime-free life after incarceration were the lowest in terms of importance in the minds of the offender. In order for the ex-offender to address the areas he or she sees as important, he or she must take the time and responsibility necessary to support a place to have children and an intimate relationship.

If our intention is to provide a stable educational environment for those individuals who qualify and want to learn, we must provide them with the resources with which they can pursue and achieve their goal. With the new prisons being built in Connecticut, we will be able to establish a stable educational program where students will have the opportunity to complete their educations, receive transition services, and decrease recidivism even more. It will be less expensive for society if these people can support themselves once they are released from prison. The United States is not the only country discovering that by increasing an individual's cognitive and moral development, we can reduce recidivism. Other countries have begun conducting studies and reporting similar results. The following reports discuss some of the successes experienced by other countries who have conducted studies to measure the impact of prison education on recidivism.

F. An International Perspective on the Effect Educational Programs have on Incarcerated Individuals

Other countries are making similar connections between education and reduced recidivism. They also experience similar concerns that there is not enough transitional programming after an inmate is released. Despite knowing that the inmate experiences many post-incarceration hardships such as economic difficulty, no housing, limited education and employment, and lack of acceptance as a productive member in a safe and secure community, transition programs and after-care programs have not been a priority with the Department of Correction (Langelid, 1996).

In 1841 a Norwegian Commission for penal institutions reported the following findings when asked to examine prison conditions in Norway and make proposals accordingly

> "Many convicts have on their release from jail neither shelter nor any means by which to sustain themselves. To this end, that the corrective aims of imprisonment should not be abandoned at the critical instant of his release, care for the released prisoner and the thereby induced and intended prevention of his return to the criminal path, constitute therefore a necessary condition for the permanent effect of treatment in a penal institution; and similar care should also be accorded prisoners released from preventative detention..."(Langelid 1996)

In 1981, two Norwegian researchers, Skaalvik & Stenby, while conducting a similar task reported

> "...Little was done to prepare the prisoners for the situation they would face when they were released. Prisoners were let to their own devices. Education in prison was not part of a long- term plan. Neither employment centers, after care teams nor schools took part in an systematic effort to create the right conditions on release."(Langelid 1996).

Recommendations from the Council of Ministers to member countries on European prison regulations 1987 states: All prisoners should take part in programs designed to help them return to society, family life and working life after their release. In this connection special procedures and courses should be prepared. Prison authorities should work in close co-operation with social services and other organizations which provide support to released prisoners and help them re-establish in society particularly in relation to family life and employment. Measures should be taken to enable prisoners to continue their education after release.(Langelid 1996)

Unlike Connecticut, Norway prison education programs are not funded by the Norwegian Prison System. The Norwegian Prison System practices "the import model." They import services from other agencies to assist in the offering of various programs. The National Education Office in Hordaland coordinates all educational programs offered in the prisons while The Ministry of Education is responsible for funding the program. The program offers courses in 33 of the 43 prisons in Norway. Approximately 6540 classes inside the prisons are offered, plus an additional 150 classes for post-release courses. Courses offered are in "compulsory school" (ABE Adult Basic Education) and "upper secondary school level" (GED - General Education Development). In addition to Academic courses, "Coping with Life" (Life Skills) courses are offered.

Prison education in Norway has gained support from the government to offer more follow-up programs over the past few years. Follow-up courses are now offered in ten centers throughout the country. The intent of the centers is to provide educational services to ex-offenders or offenders released to probation or parole. These education services are offered in small groups and aim to address not only the educational needs of the individual but also provide instruction in life skills and provide an on-going support system for the individual. Counselors at the centers are responsible for setting up education and employment contracts with educational institutions, companies, and the Labor Department.

As the Norwegian Prison System gains support, the administration is also aware of the need to evaluate their programs if the support and funds are to continue. A committee consisting of members from the National Education Office in Hordaland, the Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Justice has developed a plan to evaluate the

current courses and ensure that courses are offered to the offender in prison as well as to the ex-offender in the follow-up courses. The objective of this plan is to analyze the prison population (sentence lengths, prisoners sentenced and/or detained, nationality, development trends in the nature of the prison population and the prison system)." "The prisoner's education requirements (including relating these to their basic education and their statutory educational rights)." "The labor market (for example, what kind of vocational training should schools provide in view of the labor market prisoners will face on release? What are the consequences of high unemployment for decisions on which vocational courses to offer?)" "Cooperation with other government services--how can it best be maintained and organized? (Langelid, 1996). As part of this plan representatives from other community agencies, vital to the success of the program, have become involved with the on-going evaluation and design of a model program. As they continue to evaluate their program, external factors continue to change. The labor market is always changing, as well as the administration of facitities and programs, which impact how a program.is administered.

It is interesting to note that one area of programming, which is supported in most every study of educational programs offered in correctional settings, is vocational training. Even though this training more than academic education leads to higher employment rates after incarceration, it has not been addressed or recognized by the Norwegian Prison system until recently.

Ever since inmate education was first introduced, prison educators have faced the challenge of convincing lawmakers of the value of offering these programs to inmates. Over the past twenty years, both the federal government and many state governments

have established policies both for and against prison education. The following section discusses the political involvement some prison programs have experienced and the impact these decisions had on their programs.

G. Political Influence Governs the Existence of Treatment Programs.

During the past two centuries, prison reformers have blamed their setbacks on political interference (Davidson, 1997). Through the past two decades prison educators have experienced many changes in their programs based upon the local political climate or influences by the federal government's philosophy and goals toward educating inmates.

During the 1970's, Adult Basic Education programs were provided at a few state prisons. Between 1970 and 1980 support for literacy programs grew along with a dramtic growth in prison population. By 1982, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons implemented a mandatory adult education policy which forced all inmates without a High School Diploma or GED, who were functioning below the eighth grade level, to enroll in a literacy program for at least 90 days. In 1991, mandatory participation was increased to 120 days. Until inmates could function academically above the sixth grade level, they were refused prison jobs that required this level of functioning.

By 1986, Virginia passed a "No read, No Release" parole policy (Divito, 1991). By 1991, over 10 states had mandatory Adult Basic Education Programs for inmates. This increased to 16 states by 1994 (Jenkins, 1994).

In 1978, based upon the finding of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada, a group of educators, under the direction of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, were given the directive to conduct a review of

educational programs throughout the Canadian Penitentiary System for the purpose of the following: 1) "to establish the ground work for the development of a five year plan for an educational and training program of high quality designed to meet the needs of inmates of federal penitentiaries;" 2) "to identify and define specific penitentiary problems requiring professional/educational research;" 3) "to lead to the creation of an Educational Advisory Committee to the Commissioner of Corrections;" 4) "to encourage university facilities of education to develop courses in teaching methods for penitentiary teachers;" 5) "to plan an international scholarly conference on penitentiary education and teaching;" and 6) "to simulate interest in the subject of penitentiary education and training on the part of academics and other professionals in the field of education (Cosman, 1981). This study was conducted to increase public knowledge and support for prison education, and to generate more public and political interest and support for funding of future programs. The study generated additional support for more research in the area of correctional education, which has helped to identify a number of areas of needs within correctional education.

At the same time, in the federal prison system in Canada, the University of Victoria program began to emerge. Based upon the cognitive and moral development work of Lawrence Kohlberg, this program utilized the educational curriculum to create an environment in which discipline, hard work, organization, reasoning and a reward system help promote cognitive and moral development.

A follow-up study conducted on the Victoria Program consisting of a group of 13 members, over a period of 3 years, found a 38% reduction in the recidivism rate among those who participated in the educational program (Dugiud, 1981). While the Canadian

prison system was reporting reduced recidivism among participants in the Victoria Program, the correctional services of Canada canceled the program in 1983 in order to save money. In reaction to this decision, a protest was organized and the government was forced to reverse its decision. By 1987, Canada denied inmates access to treatment and work placement programs if they tested below the eighth grade level and did not take steps to address their educational needs. By 1992, they had adopted a policy similar to the federal government, only they raised the minimum competency to the tenth grade level (Jenson, 1994).

A similar incident took place in Connecticut in 1991, when the Connecticut State Legislature proposed to cut 62% of the school district and expand correctional recreation programs to save money. It wasn't until evidence was produced indicating the success of educational programs in other states and the lack of necessary skills that would be the plight of Connecticut inmates that the legislature reversed its decision and funded not only existing programs, but approved the expansion of the school district.

This shift in support for education in corrections continued until 1994, when the federal government discontinued the availability of Pell grants to the inmate population. Pell grants, which provide financial aid to financially disadvantaged students are no longer available to incarcerated adults. Much of the research and reported findings of the success of educational programs in corrections is derived from the philosophy that education programs based on instruction in the humanities and social sciences increase moral and cognitive skill development in the participants. This increased moral and cognitive skill development helps inmates make better decisions in life, thus reducing their propensity toward recidivism.

The following studies discuss the effects this type of instruction has on the incarcerated individual and the impact on their insight and ability to make better decisions.

H. The Effect Instructional Programs Have on Moral and Cognitive Skill Development

Based upon the work of John Howard, moral instruction was introduced into prison programs in England via the Blackstone Act of 1778. This act was the result of John Howard's publication "The State of the Prisons in 1777," in which he reported on deplorable conditions of prisons he visited in Russia, Europe and England. In the following paragraphs, I will review studies which have been developed to examine the impact specific courses have on the cognitive and moral development of an inmate and how these courses affect their post-incarceration success.

Kohlberg states that while academic subjects such as mathematics, science and philosophy can be effective tools for teaching "logical thought and reasoning," it is the liberal art courses that stimulate cognitive development and moral reasoning (Dugiud, 1981). Instead of teaching these ideas through group therapy sessions as described earlier by Yochelson and Samenow, Kohlberg suggests teaching them within the structure of an educational program so other societal needs can be addressed at the same time. If a criminal is only taught how to think differently and behave differently, without receiving the benefits of a high school diploma and/or vocational training, he or she will not be provided with the opportunity to practice these skills. Given the employment and economic design of our society, the need to practice these skills and incorporate them into daily life is obvious.

In a study to determine whether inmates tended to think more globally than analytically, a test called the hidden figures test was administered to two groups of inmates from minimum, medium and maximum security institutions. Global refers to someone who has difficulty relating their experiences to where they are in life and how they are affected by things that happen to them. Analytical refers to the ability to understand how experiences are linked and can explain how one experience is related to another. One group was enrolled in low level education courses and the other group in college courses. Previous administrations of the test on inmate populations revealed an average score of 7, indicating that these inmates were global thinkers. The average score for non-criminals is 12-20. The testing of these two groups resulted in an average increase from 7 to 9 for those enrolled in low level education courses and an average increase from 7 to 20 for those enrolled in college level courses. These results indicate a significant increase in the scores of the college group, demonstrating them to be more analytical and structured in their thinking. In a recidivism check follow-up to this study, only 16% of the subjects in the experimental group had recidivated, compared to 30% in the control group (Parlett, 1981).

Another study by Parlett tested eighty-two prisoners and revealed they were at a moral development stage of 3, which is usually attained by age 13 or 14. After administering college level courses to an experimental group of 29 inmates, Parlett tested them again and compared them to a group of forty people from the armed forces and 30 teachers enrolled in a philosophy course.

The experimental group attained the same stage 5 level of moral development as the other groups, suggesting a high level of moral reasoning and conscience. This level of moral development is associated with people who remain out of prison.

Though many of the preceding studies have reported positive results from participation in humanities courses, including increased cognitive skill development and reduced recidivism, the following review of a case study identifies program flaws and negative results on recidivism. The author, Morgan Lewis (1981), admits to starting this project with great hope and the belief that by introducing inmates/students to the humanities, they would be less likely to return to prison. The intent of the project was to use a humanities course to introduce inmates/students to specific material that would make them reflect on what they were in prison for and where their lives were going.

The project was conducted as part of the regular education program at Camp Hill, a state correctional institution in Pennsylvania for incarcerated inmates under 21 years of age. At the time of the study, Camp Hill offered the most extensive education and training programs in the State Correctional System. The study consisted of a control group and an experimental group, both randomly selected and matched for age, race and I.Q. The experimental group received instruction in humanities during the period of the study. Inmates/students in the control group were selected from both the GED program and Vocational Program. Each group consisted of 29 participants. For those in the study, attendance was mandatory. Classes met 3 days a week for a total of 5 hours a week.

The first flaw was discovered when a film chosen for its potential to provide meaningful insight into values and society was shown to the humanities group and elicited little to no reaction from the participants. This film was shown to initiate discussion and personal reflection on the moral dilemma faced by the actor. When no discussion or reflection appeared to take place, it was realized that maybe this approach would not work with this population. The lack of participation by the experimental group lead to other attempts to initiate discussion and reflection which were met with disapproval by the Prison Administration due to recent riots over racial tension between blacks and whites.

A last attempt was made to continue to offer a humanities type course which would provide these young men with an opportunity to examine themselves and their values. This last attempt drastically changed the design of the course. The course became a film making and drama course. The drama course, which started out with black and white participants, eventually became all black and a play depicting life in the ghetto emerged. The film class viewed films of fighting between black and whites.

In evaluating the results of surveys and interviews of all participants, it was found that the humanities program did bring about a change and develop a better awareness of surroundings for some participants, but not all. The findings also indicate that this better awareness did not always bring about a positive change in the participant. The greater awareness and more realistic perception of themselves lead some participants to experience depression and dissatisfaction with themselves, leading to withdrawal and isolation.

After the first 6 months this compulsory attendance policy was removed. Twenty five of the original 41 enrolled in the program remained in the course for an additional six weeks.

In order to report on the effects the program had on recidivism, employment, attitude and values, each participant in both the central group and experimental group was interviewed and asked to complete a confidential questionnaire annually for three years. Recidivism rates were reported by parole officers for accuracy reasons.

About half the participants in the humanities and one third of those in the GED courses were in society performing some type of duty, either employed, in the military, or unemployed. Thirty percent were fugitives or in prison; a few participants were deceased; and data on the remainder could not be collected. As has been indicated in previous studies, those participants in vocational courses had the highest percentage (58) in society and the lowest in percentage (23) returned to prison. Thirty-seven percent were employed (see appendix C table 16 for additional comparisons). Information for these tables was gathered from personal interviews with the ex-offenders, family members, parole officers, special investigations and wardens.

The author's findings indicate that there was no significant difference of subjects in prison or fugitives at the time of the follow-up among the three groups. The author also cautions that this is not a reflection of recidivism; rather, just those incarcerated or with charges at the time of the follow-up. From year to year of the follow-up, it is not indicated whether these are the same subjects or new recidivators. Recidivism rates were confirmed by parole officers. The findings report no significant difference in recidivism (see appendix D table 17 for recidivism rates as reported by parole officers).

The participants employment status during the 3 year follow-up was also reported. Again, this is only an indication of who was working at the time the follow-up was conducted and not how many had actually held a job over the period of three years. The author reports little differences in employment rates amongst the three groups. The author also reported that those employed were typically working in jobs which required no prior skills or training. (see appendix E table 18 for employment and unemployment rates as reported by respondents.

The next category the author reported on was attitudes and values. The author had hoped the data would show greater differences between the groups, with the humanities participants showing the greatest growth as the humanities class by its structure and content was thought to bring about a change in attitudes and values. No differences were indicated amongst the groups. What was disappointing to the author was that in only one of the seven categories, "read a book," did anyone in the humanities group repeat participation. Item means were calculated for each group and the "separate items were summed to yield a total score for each respondent." Below 2.0 indicated the subject reported only participating in this activity once or not at all. Lewis explains these findings may be the result when the environments to which they return "overwhelm" the effect prison programs may have on them while incarcerated (see appendix F table 19 for a list of humanities-related activities).

I have included the 3 charts in appendixes to show the reader that although not the intent of the study nor reported on in the findings, in each case the vocational program participants had a higher rate of employment, a lower recidivism rate, a lower number reported to be in prison each time a follow-up was conducted, and a higher rating on the attitude and values scale.

In line with a classical theorist belief, Stephen Duguid (1981) states people make decisions within a predetermined context of economic, social and political factors. "Those who engage in criminal activity choose to do so; they are decision makers." (Duguid, 1981)

As Duguid demonstrates how education can be utilized within correctional programs to induce the criminal to make moral, law-abiding decisions in the future, he stresses the importance of the validity of the decision making approach. Though he believes education cannot directly change social conditions such as poverty, race or class, he does argue that "analytical thinking skills" and "moral paradigms" can be developed through the educational process. As a condition of his free will, a man can become a decision maker; but he must be cognizant of the confines or social conditions which he cannot change. Regardless of the limitations social conditions may present, man is still responsible for his choices. Even though offenders may express the will to change, they often lack the social reinforcement and cognitive skills necessary to make appropriate life decisions. Their inability to relate past experiences to present or future conditions is a common similarity amongst criminals.

This lack of analytic thinking skills and impulsiveness also hinders their ability to problem solve (Duguid, 1981). In recommending the type of educational programs to offer, Duguid advises the program be one which offers a curriculum in ethics to develop non-criminal behavior. Education alone will not change behavior.

In a follow-up study of the University of Victoria Program, at Matsqui Institution conducted during 1979-80, Duguid concluded the following: based upon interviews of 45 of the 75 inmates originally in the program, virtually all of them were employed or enrolled in an education program. Several of those employed, though unhappy with their current employment, remained on the job until something more suitable became available. Duguid believes this was due to their increased cognitive and moral development which leads to a need for a more middle class job. He quotes Bethelheim (1970:88) ".... the conviction that to postpone immediate pleasure in order to gain more lasting gratification in the future is the most effective way to reach one's goal."

The fact that only 30% do not credit the academic program with helping them obtain employment was reflective of statements made by individuals enrolled in other academic programs. Inmate/students rarely believe they are learning anything in the programs. They are usually referring to academic material which is measurable and identified by test scores, seemingly oblivious to the social and moral benefits of their incarcerated educations. It is not until graduation day that they realize what they have accomplished, but even then they do not associate this with cognitive and moral development changes.

Of the 70% that credited the academic program for their successes, many cited their new found ability to set goals, write a resume, conduct a job search and interview as the major contributions the program provided them with.

In comparing this group to a matched group of ex-offenders who were incarcerated in the same prison at the same time but did not participate in the University of Victoria Program, only 11.15% of the university group were reincarcerated, while 48% of the non-university group were reincarcerated.

Parlett and Ayers provide us with numerous questions of what actually can be credited with the changes that occur in student/inmates. As Parlett reflects, he probes at the question of what effect moral development, cognitive development, instruction and teacher interaction have on the inmate learner. He mentions that in his own studies he had failed to demonstrate that programmed instruction was the instrument that brought about changes in personality rather than the teacher interaction experienced during the course. This raised questions as to whether or not different teachers would meet with different results. This question brought about the Donner project. With this project Parlett set out to identify which theories could be proven or disproved. Parlett found that some positions could be neither disproved or proven. In other areas he found that the position could not be accepted due to the use of measurability tests which in further studies brought about identical results with other populations who had not participated in this program. It was later found that the test used was not recommended to identify the changes reported. Parlett warns that just because the post-test identifies a change from the pre-test, it does not identify what caused that change. He asks the question of whether the test results are different only because the inmate/student who participated has

taken more time to complete the test due to his interest in the program, need to please the instructor, an increased patience in filling out tests or surveys due to their involvement in the course. As previously discussed, only so much can be done to control factors within the prison environment which are affected by individual beliefs and personalities. How much these factors effect the outcome of these studies is difficult to determine. What has been shown is that the more education an inmate receives, the less likely he or she will be to recidivate. Decreased recidivism was reported in even the least supported programs.

I. Summery

In this chapter I have reviewed the research of how participating in educational programs while incarcerated can impact an individual's post incarceration success. There is overwhelming evidence that even a minimal amount of participation has been shown to increase one's post - incarceration success. As was indicated in many studies of all the types of educational programming offered at various facilities both within the United States and in other countries, vocational programs and college programs provide the best opportunities for post-release employment.

The vocational programs are credited with nourishing positive work habits and necessary employment skills to both obtain and retain employment. College programs are credited with providing individuals with the development of cognitive skills so they can make better decisions once released into society.

GED preparatory programs are essential for anyone trying to obtain employment or enter a post-secondary program. When you combine all these programs you should be able to turn back to society an individual with the skills to become a positive contributing member of that society. Transition programs have been shown to be very effective for

the inmate to make his or her return to society. Programs with a higher level of post-incarceration interaction reported greater results with regard to employment and continued education. Connecticut is beginning to focus its energy and funding toward the development of more transition programs.

Overall, educational programs have a positive effect on the prison environment and reduce recidivism. The continued development of programs based upon the ingredients of those reporting positive results will bring about an even greater reduction in recidivism and the release of individuals better prepared to re-enter society.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE EDUCATION PROGRAMS WITHIN THE CONNECTICUT DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION

A. Connecticut Correctional Institutions: A Closer Perspective

In 1968 The Connecticut Legislature passed legislation for the creation of a state department of correction. The following pages outline the institutions that comprised the Connecticut Department of Correction in 1968.

Connecticut State Prison, a maximum-security prison located in Somers, Connecticut, was used to incarcerate adult males who had committed serious crimes or exhibited behaviors, while incarcerated, which were determined to be unsafe in a minimum security institution. The education program consisted of both academic and vocational programs. The academic program offered classes in English, mathematics, science and social studies. Vocational training was offered in the areas of automotive repair, typewriter repair, dry cleaning, furniture refinishing and printing. Osborn Minimum Security Institution, a minimum security institution for adult males located in Enfield, Connecticut, was used to incarcerate those inmates whose good behavior and relatively short sentences enabled them to be classified to a lower security level.

The Connecticut State Farm and Prison for Women, an institution for females 16 years of age and older, was located in Niantic, Connecticut. Educational programs included instruction at both the elementary and secondary level, as well as vocational instruction in the areas of typing, shorthand, nursing, food preparation, laundry service, industrial sewing and clerical work.

The Connecticut Reformatory, a maximum security youth facility located in Cheshire, Connecticut, was for incarcerated youths 16 years of age and older. The educational program offered classes in English, mathematics, science and social studies. Classes were held Monday through Thursday evenings, two hours a night, from September to June. Vocational training was offered in the areas of cabinet making, machine shop, masonry, printing, sign making, and tailoring. In addition to these institutions, the state also operated nine jails. These were short-term facilities that offered little in terms of educational programming. (see table 1.)

Today the department of correction has 19 facilities and an incarcerated population of over 17,000. Each correctional facility offers educational programming. The size and security level of the institution determines the types of programs each facility offers. Our two level five facilities Northern Correctional Institution and Walker Reception and Intake Unit offer minimal educational programming. Northern Correctional Institution, a level five maximum security facility restricts programming to the minimal academic education guaranteed by law to student/inmates under the age of 21. Walker Reception and Intake Unit, our intake facility offers intake testing and minimal education programming. Inmates are only at this facility for an average of 11 days before being relocated to another facility based upon their intake information and

determined security level. All of our level four and level three institutions offer both academic and vocational programming with the exception of Corrigan Correctional Institution. Corrigan Correctional Institution is an 800-bed jail, which offers just academic education programs. All level two facilities offer academic programming and computer training courses. The offering of vocational courses primarily at level three and four institutions is due to the amount of time needed to complete them. Inmates at level two facilities are usually near the end of their sentence and would not have enough time to complete a full vocational program. (See table 2.)

Table 1. Institutions and Programs Offered in 1968

Institution	Security Level	Age of Population	Number of Inmates	Academic Education	Vocational Education	Number of Courses
Somers State Prison	4	21-up	800	Yes	Yes	9
Osborn	2	21-up	400	Yes	Yes	3
CT State Farm & Prison for Women	4	16-up		Yes	Yes	4
The Connecticut Reformatory	5	16-21		Yes	Yes	6

Table 2. Institutions and Programs Offered as of Today

Institution	Security Level	Age of Population	Number of Inmates	Academic Education	Vocational Education	Number of Courses
Willard/Cybulski	2	Adult Male	1048	Yes	Yes	9
Enfield	3	Adult Male	724	Yes	Yes	11
Osborn	3	Adult Male	1702	Yes	Yes	11
Carl Robinson	3	Adult Male	1152	Yes	Yes	13
Hartford C.C.	4	Adult Male	1054	Yes	No	3
MacDougall	4	Adult Male	971	Yes	Yes	19
Northeast C.I.	1	Adult Male	248	Yes	No	2
Walker Reception Center	5	Adult Male	575	Yes	No	4
Cheshire C.I.	4	Adult Male	1384	Yes	Yes	13
Manson Youth Institution	4	Youth	681	Yes	Yes	20
Webster C.I.	2	Adult Male	552	Yes	Yes	5
Bridgeport C.C.	4	Adult Male	1384	Yes	No	5
Brooklyn C.I.	3	Adult Male	473	Yes	Yes	5
Garner C.I.	4	Adult Male	723	Yes	Yes	6
Northern C.I.	5	Adult Male	316	Yes	No	2
New Haven C.C.	4	Adult Male	837	Yes	No	3
Corrigan	4	Adult Male	833	Yes	No	4
Radgowski	3	Adult Male	635	Yes	Yes	5
Gates	2	Adult Male	907	Yes	Yes	5
York	5	Adult Female	1033	Yes	Yes	21

As indicated above, each facility offers a compliment of both academic and vocational programs designed to provide the individual with an opportunity to earn their high school diploma through the GED program and develop a positive work ethic for successful transition back into the community. The academic program is designed to provide student/inmates with instruction to prepare them to take the General Education Development Examination (GED).

B. The General Educational Development Examination

As indicated in chapter I A significant part of the education program is the preparation and administration of the GED (General Education Development) examination. The GED is a battery of five comprehensive tests designed to measure skill areas identified as desired educational outcomes of four years of formal high school experience. The following is a description of each of the five sub-tests that make up the entire battery.

Writing Skills: This test consists of two sections. Part I is a multiple-choice section that measures the ability to edit sentences within the context of one or more paragraphs of extended discourse. Part II is an essay section that measures the ability to compose a well-written response to a question about a subject or an issue that is familiar to examinees. There are 55 questions in the objective part of the writing skills test and the examinee has 75 minutes to complete this section. The content areas measured in this section are sentence structure (35%), usage (35%) and mechanics (30%). Part II requires a written essay on an assigned topic that calls upon the examinee to either present a point of view on the issue or to present an explanation of a situation. The examinee is given 45 minutes to complete the essay.

Social Studies: This test measures the ability to use knowledge and information about fundamental social studies concepts in a variety of ways; mere recall or recitation of facts is not tested. Social studies test items are drawn from the following content areas: history (25%), economics (20%), political science (20%), geography (15%), and the behavioral sciences of anthropology, psychology and sociology (20%). There are 64 questions with 85 minutes to complete this section of the GED test.

Science: The subject matter for the science test is drawn from the life sciences (biology) and the physical sciences (earth science, chemistry, and physics). Test items are related to major conceptual themes - the "universal" concepts that cut across all disciplines of science. These themes include change, conservation of mass and energy, interactions, relationships, and time and space. The content areas include biological life science (50%) and the physical sciences: earth science, physics, and chemistry (50%). There are 66 questions with 95 minutes to complete this section of the test.

Interpreting Literature and the Arts: This test measures the examinee's ability to comprehend, apply, and analyze literary selections, though no item assumes a knowledge of the language of literary criticism. The content areas include popular literature (50%), classical literature (20%) and commentary about literature and the arts (25%). There are 45 questions with 65 minutes to complete this section of the test.

Mathematics: The problem-solving skills assessed in the mathematics test include numerous areas of measurement (30%), number relationships (10%), and data analysis (10%); problems in algebra (30%) and geometry (20%) complete the test. Mathematical problems are presented in realistic contexts and test the examinee's knowledge of mathematical processes and his ability to apply them to related content areas. There are 56 questions with 90 minutes to complete this section of the test.

Minimum passing score requirements are set for each sub-test, as well as a minimum combined score for the entire battery. A total standard score of 225 (45 average) is required to qualify for a Connecticut state high school diploma, with no standard score below forty in any subject area. To quality for an honors diploma, a total standard score of 300 is required with no standard score below 55 in any subject.

Examinees do not have to take the entire five-subject battery during one test cycle. An examinee may take any one or all subtests, for which he or she is eligible, until a passing score is obtained. Upon successful completion of the GED examination, each individual is awarded a diploma.

In recognition of the student's success, each site will conduct a graduation ceremony very similar to those in local high schools. These ceremonies take place within the prison setting and are open to the graduates' families.

Presented below is a more in-depth description of the academic, vocational and college programs offered through the education department at Connecticut Correctional Institution, Enfield. While CCI Enfield maintains all of the programs required of the state prison system, it also expands its service and program offerings in an effort to better prepare its student/inmates to become positive and productive members of society.

C. A Typical School Within the Connecticut Correctional System

Under the direction of Unified School District #1 and the Connecticut Department of Correction, the education department at CCI-Enfield offers a unique educational program to incarcerated adult males in an attempt to foster independence, responsibility, respect and positive decision-making ability. The instructional approach is a competency-based individualized program designed to enable the student to progress at a self-initiated pace, and to increase skills sequentially in all academic and vocational areas. Additionally, a full compliment of diagnostic and counseling services are available to students identified as educationally handicapped and in need of special education and related services. As part of these services, the program provides a link between available community resources and the students upon their release.

The academic component of our education program offers thirty classes daily, which address the content areas of reading, math, and language at different skill levels, so each student's individual needs are efficiently addressed. Each teacher is assigned to teach specific content areas based upon their interest and educational background. Each student currently enrolled in school is administered a battery of tests, referred to as the TABE (Test of Adult Basic Education), to determine their academic level in each content area. These test results, which give a grade level average in the reading, language and mathematics, are the initial determinant for the specific schedule and course load each new inmate will receive. After initial placement, all new students retest every four months, and are placed in the appropriate classes as determined by their test results.

Each teacher teaches five forty-five minute classes and monitors one study hall per day. A study hall is offered each period and addresses the student's need for a quiet, supportive place to study, and it also allows for the administration of supplementary homework assignments. Each teacher is responsible for periodically offering a study skill workshop as part of his or her study hall. The thirty-class schedule allows for maximum student participation. Each student is assigned to a reading, math and language arts class based upon his TABE test scores. Most classes are offered at two separate times throughout the day. This allows students to participate in other institutional programs without interfering with their education. (see appendix A table 19) Each class has approximately 18 students enrolled in it. The following is a description of each discipline offered.

Mathematics: The mathematics department at CCI-Enfield offers an integrated program of study in five separate courses. Students develop skills in whole number operations with applications in algebra and geometry; fraction and decimal operations with applications to ratios, proportions, percents and data analysis are covered as well.

Reading Program: The instructional goals set by CCI-Enfield reading instructors target student appreciation for all types of literature and nurture an understanding of reading as a lifelong pursuit.

Development of these skills is fostered from a disparate array of reading abilities, beginning at the basic skills level (word attack, sight vocabulary) and building to the critical thinking level (cause and effect, targeting the main idea). These needs are met within the context of the six reading courses that comprise the program.

Through the incorporation of phonics and the whole language approach to reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills, the program aims to build the foundation of general knowledge needed to achieve a state high school diploma. However, the program's scope extends beyond the GED in an effort to produce active, lifelong critical readers.

Language Arts Program: The language arts program at CCI-Enfield provides student/inmates with the essential building blocks of effective communication. The tools of effective communication include knowledge of the eight parts of speech, sentence and paragraph structure, spelling, vocabulary development and proper pronunciation as well as oral communication skills. These skills enable student/inmates to express their ideas effectively and efficiently through speech and written language.

Along with our academic classes, we offer five vocational classes in the following areas: small engine repair, graphic communications, building maintenance, business education and microcomputers. These vocation programs require student/inmates to be in the same class for the entire school day.

Graphic Communications: The graphic communications program at CCI-Enfield consists of four areas of instruction, including desktop publishing, darkroom skills, pressroom, and bindery operation. Upon successful completion of the graphic communications program, students will have learned the skills needed to obtain an entry-level position in the printing trade. Students spend approximately 10-12 months in the program. During this time, students receive about 300 hours of classroom instruction, as well as 600 hours of practical instruction and work experience.

Business Education: The business education program prepares students for entry-level employment in the fields of bookkeeping/accounting and typing/word processing. In addition, business math, English, calculator, and computer skills are taught. If time permits, a unit in federal income tax preparation is also covered.

The business education program takes approximately one year to complete. During this time student/inmates are expected to complete class work and homework assignments on a daily basis. Students must attend all scheduled classes. College credit for accounting and typing/word processing may be issued through the community college system to those who have completed the required course work.

Building Maintenance: The building maintenance program is designed to help students develop their special interests in the areas of woodworking, electricity, and plumbing technologies.

The program has several phases, including woodworking, electricity, plumbing, and carpentry. Some welding and brazing is also covered. Shop and tool safety is stressed throughout the course.

Small Engine Repair: The small engine repair program is set up to teach the basic knowledge needed to repair small gas engines and related components. This program offers students the skills necessary for employment in the repair of outdoor power equipment. The main areas covered in the program are the diagnosis, repair and overhaul of engines on lawn movers, snow blowers, chain saws, and related power transmission equipment. An introduction to motorcycle and outboard repair is also offered.

Apprenticeship Program: Students can further their skills by enrolling in the State of Connecticut Department of Labor Apprenticeship Program. Through an agreement between Unified School District #1 and the Connecticut Department of Labor, USD#1 may offer prospective apprenticeship programming in three of our vocational programs: graphic communication, small engine repair and building maintenance. The program, which requires the completion of 2000 hours in one vocational trade area, is designed to serve as a bridge between work training at CCI-Enfield and prospective apprenticeship training in the industrial and business community of Connecticut. Students in this program will use a computer for service reports. A computer aided drafting system is available for interested students. They may also learn various aspects of arc and gas welding. This is a two-year program.

Computer Education: The computer education course begins with an introduction to computers, including the development of algorithms and basic programming skills in Applesoft using Apple computers.

Students then advance to learning the ms-dos operating system on pc compatible computers, as well as a study of Microsoft products, including data base and spreadsheet program design.

Braille Program: CCI-Enfield offers a Braille Transcription Program to the bureau for the services of the blind. Students transcribe text from a wide range of reading materials using a special BEX word processing program and Webster's Spell Checker to create books in Braille for blind school children throughout the state of Connecticut.

Post Secondary Education: Students are also provided with the opportunity to pursue post-secondary education. College courses are offered at night in conjunction with Asnuntuck Community-Technical College to individuals who currently hold high school diplomas or GED. Once student/inmates are eligible for release, individual plans are developed for further educational advancement. In addition to the evening college program, students can earn college credits through the tech-prep program. In conjunction with Asnuntuck Community-Technical College, student/inmates can earn college credits while enrolled in the following vocational education programs: graphic arts, business education, and microcomputers. Additional college credits can be earned while participating in the math and English programs.

Tech-Prep: The CCI-Enfield education department, through arrangements with Asnuntuck Community-Technical College, offers students the opportunity to earn college credits while enrolled in business education, microcomputers, and graphic communication vocational courses.

College credits are awarded for completion of the following courses offered through our vocational program:

Acct 105	basic accounting
Acct 130	introduction to accounting
CIS 144	introduction to dos
CIS 151	spreadsheet fundamentals
CIS 161	database fundamentals
Comm 140	desktop publishing
OAC 101	keyboarding I
OAC 102	keyboarding ii
OAC 125	word processing I
OAC 250	word processing ii

In 1999, 228 credits were awarded to 33 students enrolled in tech-prep courses at CCI-Enfield.

In addition to academic and vocational programming, CCI-Enfield offers various support programs for the promotion of a successful transition back into the community.

Read to Your Child Program: This is a program designed to foster positive parenting skills of inmates incarcerated at CCI-Enfield. Inmates are afforded the opportunity to read books to their children during normal visiting hours. This year 2,849 inmates read 4,287 books to 3,743 children.

F.E.A.T.S. program (Family Education Aids Transition Skills): This two day program is offered twice a year to foster an awareness of the necessary skills for transition back into the community. Inmates attend workshops throughout the two-day program. Each workshop addresses a different transition development area, such as parenting, familial relations, work place readiness and contemporary health issues.

Other programs offer the following enrichment courses on a continual basis: a personal typing course, a personality reflection course called "What's My Type," a trigonometry course, a career skills course, and two writing courses focusing on job skills and parenting skills.

While the focus of the USD #1 program is the student/inmate's attainment of the GED, individuals would be ill-prepared for release if they were not exposed to supplemental programs that help introduce them to other critical, socially accepted norms with regard to parenting, employment and general life skills.

Without measuring the effectiveness of these programs and the impact they have on recidivism we can not accurately report as to their success. The next chapter is a report of the findings of a recidivism study I began collecting data on in 1995. The data was collected and analyzed in order to provide Connecticut with a better understanding of the relationship between prison education programs and recidivism.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF RECIDIVISM RATES OF GED RECIPIENTS FROM 1992-1996

This study analyzes the outcomes of inmates released from the Connecticut Department of Correction between 1992 and 1996, whom, while incarcerated, participated in the GED test (General Education Development Test). This data has been studied to determine the effect education has on recidivism. I used the period of 1992-1996 for the collection of data to obtain a large enough sample to report on. Consistent with the research studies I have reported on in chapter III, I have waited a period of three years from the time of the participants release from prison to report on the findings. Because many inmates are released from prison to a specific program such as Parole, probation, or transition supervision, it is not until they have completed successfully completed these programs and are no longer under the jurisdiction of a criminal justice agency that you can measure true recidivism. Included in this study are individuals who violated their probation and were returned to prison. _This analysis examines the relationships and correlations between educational and non-educational factors contributing to post incarceration success. The main questions I wish to address are the overall effect various factors and characteristics might have on recidivism, and in specific what effect receiving your GED is likely to have on recidivism? As there are many definitions of recidivism, I will begin by defining recidivism for this study and my reasons for this.

A. What is Recidivism?

As indicated in the literature review, recidivism is defined in different terms depending upon the scope of the study. The two primary measures of recidivism are re-arrest and reconviction. Though there are strengths and weaknesses to both of these recidivism-measuring categories, re-incarceration will be used as the indicator for this study. I will be using re-incarceration as a measure of recidivism because of its indication of re-conviction and the availability and accuracy of this information as well as other demographic and crime related information.

Although the Bureau of Criminal Justice statistics has identified re-arrest as the strictest and most reliable indicator of recidivism, re-arrest may simply mean that the individual failed to report to their parole officer as well as a more severe felony infraction. One could argue that the failure to report to the parole or probation officer is an indicator of more severe trouble, but this cannot always be supported by an arrest report.

The question would then have to be asked if failure to report is a viable indication of recidivism, even if the individual is enrolled in an education program or continuing to work in the community.

With reconviction, the individual would at least have had the opportunity to be heard before a judge and plead their case. If extenuating circumstances existed, the judge may decide to give a non-conviction ruling and release the individual. Even if the individual were released without a conviction, he/she would still have a re-arrest indicated on their record.

Re-incarceration is an indication of more than just a small infraction; it indicates another serious conviction. Violation of probation is a charge in and of itself. If the actions of an individual warranted re-arrest, the probation violation charge would indicate that re-arrest was substantiated by this most recent offense and a judge recommended re-incarceration.

B. Study Design

The most accurate measure of recidivism can be reported by identifying student/inmates who are enrolling in school, and randomly select half of the group to withhold education services from while incarcerated. The recidivism rates of this group would then be compared to the group who participated in education while incarcerated. As this presents an ethical dilemma which violates individual rights, I have designed this study to compare recidivism rates of all student/inmates who participated in GED testing, during a specific time period and analyzed data to make comparisons between GED scores, specific demographics, and crime related information.

As indicated in chapter I, in1991 Unified School District #1 underwent serious review for consideration of elimination of funding by the Connecticut General Assembly. This review brought attention to the lack of statistical data to support the argument that education programs within prisons reduced recidivism. After a successfully defending the merits of the education program, by presenting information and research from other states, it was thought best to begin to gather data, necessary to study the effect education programs had on the Connecticut inmate population. The first step was the development of a database on every student/inmate who took the GED. It is this database from which I drew data to report on in this study.

Initially, I was only able to collect data on those student/inmates who had taken the GED between 1992 and 1995 and passed. It was not until after I reported on the findings of this group that I was able to retrieve data on all student/inmates who took the GED between 1992 and 1996 whether they passed or not. The initial data was collected and maintained in an ACCESS database. The only information given was; name, inmate number, social security number, DOB, address, and GED scores. Through the inmate query system, I was able to collect additional demographics including offence and release date information on each student/inmate. This information was then added to the original database. Each inmate number and name was replaced with a numerical identifier. I will report on the findings of each group individually.

C. Initial Findings

The first group consists of 1611 student/inmates who had taken and passed the GED between 1992 and 1995. The second group consists of 2100 student/inmates who had either passed or failed the GED test between 1992 and 1996. In addition to analyzing the data in both groups to answer the question, does receiving your GED reduce recidivism, I have also reported on other findings gathered from the data. In the first group I will present findings comparing their GED score with multiple demographic variables available through our inmate query system. The data collected and analyzed for this study is consistent with data analyzed in other studies.

The first group's data set, of which all participants received their GED, is cross tabulated using six independent variables: age, race, sex, current offense, city or town returned to, and GED test score.

Major findings of this study include the following:

1. Of the 1611 inmates, 44% recidivated. This is a 21% decrease compared to the 65% recidivism rate for the general inmate population of the same time period. (Coppolo, Furbish, 1999)

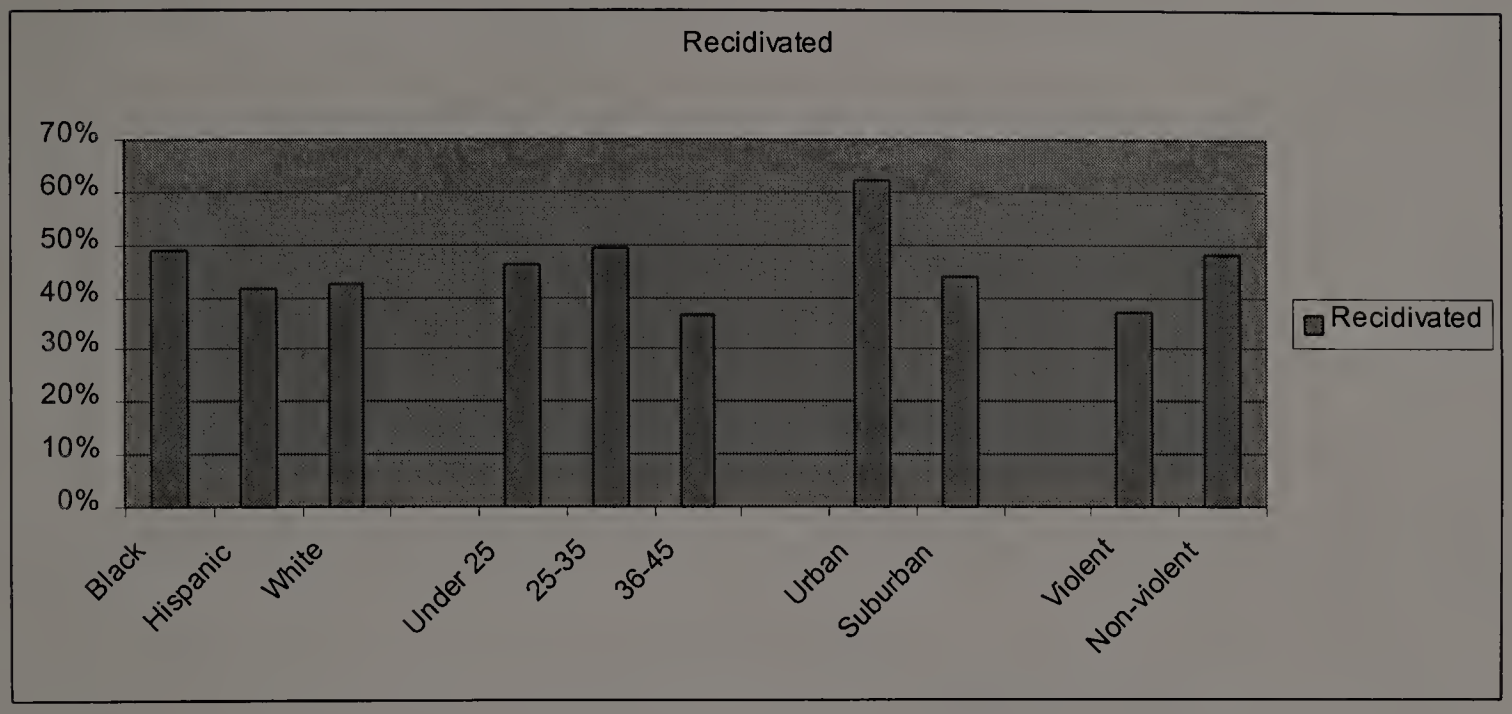
   Without controlling for any other variables other then Passing the GED, table 3 indicates a 21% decrease in recidivism of inmates over the 65% recidivism rate as reported by the 1999 Office of Labor Relations report for the same time period.

Table 3: The Recidivism Rate of 1611 Inmates Who Passed the GED

Recidivated	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
N	893	55.67	55.67
Y	711	44.33	100.00
Total	1604	100.00	

Even though this is a clear indication of a reduction in recidivism for this group, I have analyzed other variables associated with participants in this study.(see table 4.)

Table 4. Recidivism Rates Using Four Specific Variables



2. Non-violent offenders re-offended at a higher rate than violent offenders.

This conflicts with results reported by Harer (1995), who found that violent offenders such as thieves had a 40% higher recidivism rate than non-violent offenders such as drug traffickers. However, this data supports the study conducted by the Justice Education Center, which reported that violent offenders were less likely to recidivate then non-violent offenders.

Of the 1611, 236 (52.5%) of the 499 (27%) in for drug trafficking recidivated, while 45% of the 381 non-violent offenders recidivated. Of the 1611, 28% of the 622 (39%) incarcerated on robbery charges recidivated, while of the 418 (26%) incarcerated as violent offenders, 154 (37%) re-offended.

3. Recidivism rates were highest among those convicted of drug offenses.
4. Recidivism rates were lowest among those convicted of a robbery offense
5. Recidivism rates were higher among those returning to urban areas rather than suburban communities.

    Six hundred seventy nine out of 1611 (42.8%) returned to the metropolitan areas of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, West Springfield, MA, Manhattan, N.Y., Brooklyn, N.Y., Bronx, N.Y., and Washington. Of the 67% returning to these cities, 426 (62%) recidivated. This data was compared to those returning to the 16 suburban areas represented in this study. Of the 920 (57%) returning to a suburban area, 404 (44%) recidivated. The large recidivism rate of those returning to urban areas is consistent with previous studies (Harer, 1987). This was attributed to higher unemployment rates and the larger percentage of people living in poverty. Criminologists argue that the higher recidivism rates of individuals returning to urban areas are due to the larger populations. More dense populations provide greater opportunity to associate with criminal peers, increased targets for would-be criminals and more customers for the sale of drugs or stolen property (Harer, 1987).
6. Recidivism rates were higher among African-Americans than Caucasians and Hispanics and slightly higher among Caucasians than Hispanics.

    580 out of 1611 (36%) were African-American. 284 of the 580 (49%) recidivated. 307 out of 720 Caucasians (42.6%) recidivated. 123 out of 296 (41.5%) Hispanics recidivated.

7. Recidivism rates were inversely related to age except for the 30-35 year old group. The recidivism rates declined steadily between age groups 30-35 (48%), 35-40 (37%), and 40-45 (35%).

   Surprisingly, the 25-30 year old age group expressed a lower recidivism rate (42.3%) than the 30-35 year old group. This is all the more significant given that the 25-30 year old group was almost twice the size, 648 student/inmates compared to the 360 of the older age group.

   Another significant result was found in the 45-50 year old group, where 9 out of 20 (45%) recidivated. When the statistics report the opposite of this, skeptics tend to believe the inmates in this age group did not return because they are older and tired of doing time, not because they received an education.

Table 5. Recidivism Rates By Age in Increments of 5 Years and GED Score

AGE	Total Sample	Total Recidivated	Avg. GED Score Recidivists	Avg. GED Score Non-Recidivists
Under 25	181	83 (46%)	247.04	253
25-30	660	326 (49.3%)	245.5	246.7
31-35	360	173 (48%)	246.2	246
36-40	224	83 (37%)	251.39	252.8
41-45	118	41 35%)	254.5	256
46-50	20	9 (45%)	261.6	269

The following results were attained when the data was set up in age groups of ten-year increments. 907 of the 1611 (56.3%) fell into the age group 25-35. Of the 907, 447 (49.3%) recidivated. 124 (36.4%) of the 342 who fell into the 35-45 age group recidivated.

Table 6. Recidivism Rates By Age in Increments of 10 Years and GED Score

AGE	Total Sample	Total recidivated	Avg. GED Score Recidivist	Avg. GED Score Non-Recidivist
25-35	907	447 (49.3%)	245.7	246.5
36-45	342	124 (36.4%)	252.4	254

8. Recidivism rates were inversely related to GED scores attained. The higher the passing score, the lower the recidivism rate with regards to offense types. Of the 465 individuals scoring lower than 250 on the GED, 45.2% recidivated. 42.5% of the 555 scoring above 250 recidivated. As scores increased, recidivism rates decreased. Those scoring above 275 had a recidivism rate of 38%, while of the 66 scoring above 300, only 33% recidivated.

Table 7. Recidivism Rates by GED Score and Type of Crime (Violent/Non-Violent)

GED Score	Total Sample	# recidivated	Type of Crime V	Type of Crime NV
225-235	523	236 (45%)	66(30.7%)	149
235-245	336	162 (48%	33(25.8%)	95
245-255	236	110 (47%)	30(32%)	64
255-265	156	66 (42%)	9(18.8%)	39
265-275	108	53 (49%)	7(19%)	30
275-285	60	20 (33%)	2(14.5%)	12
285-295	50	22 (44%)	2(12.5%)	14
295-305	36	17(47%)	4(30%)	9

Of the 55 Caucasians, 11 African-Americans, and nine Hispanics who scored above 250 and recidivated, 65 out of 75 (87%) were for non-violent crimes.

Of those scoring greater than 250 of the 236 who recidivated only 39 (16.5%) were for violent crimes.

Of those scoring less than 250 who recidivated 465, 113 (24.5%) were for violent crimes. There is an inverse correlation between the percentage of violent crime and the recidivist's GED score. As passing GED scores rose, the incidence of violent crime fell.

D. Multivariable Regression Analysis of Prison Education and Recidivism

The best way to really control for all variables is through multivariable regression analysis. As stated above, the second data set contains both those who passed and those who failed the GED between 1992 and 1996. After completing an analysis of the first set of data of those who passed the GED between 1992 and 1995 I obtained access to a more complete database of all inmates who took were administered the GED between 1992 and 1996. This database was then matched with our department query system to obtain release dates and age and race. The purpose of this study was to compare the recidivism rate of those who passed the GED with those who did not pass the GED. This study was designed to test the following hypothesis:

1.) Passing the GED has a significant impact on reducing recidivism.

2.) Participation in prison education reduces recidivism.

Due to the fact that some of the cases in this data set contained individuals who had only taken one sub-test of the GED and subsequently earned very low scores, Cook's Distance Formula was applied to the data analysis in order to eliminate the greatest outliers. The top 1- percent of cases with the greatest outliers were then dropped using a regression analysis with Robust Standard errors.

Table 8 shows the dependant variable recid (recidivism) and the independent variable GED (GED score). Indicated by the P> t of .011 (level of significance), the higher the GED score, the less likely one is to recidivate. For every 10 points earned on the GED, the individual is 1% less likely to recidivate. This would indicate the higher one's educational level the less likely they are to recidivate. This is supported by the research reported in chapter III which found those taking college courses reported the lowest recidivism rate.

Table 8: A Regression Table Comparing GED Score to Recidivism.

Regression with robust standard errors

Number of obs	2073
F(1, 2071)	6.46
Prob > F	0.0111
R-squared	0.0029
Root MSE	.49631

recid	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
ged	-.0009466	.0003723	-2.543	0.011	-.0016766	-.0002165
_cons	.6699183	.0898621	7.455	0.000	.4936888	.8461478

In Table 9, the independent variables sex, race, age and whether they passed the GED are controlled. The variable "passed" splits the sample into two groups. Those scoring 225 and above and those scoring below 225. As is indicated by P> t of .117, though not significant, it demonstrates that it is not necessarily passing the GED that reduces recidivism, but rather participating in an academic program.

Table 9: Regression Analysis of Recidivism Controlling For Ged, Gender, Race and Age.

Regression with robust standard errors

Number of obs	= 2073
F(6, 2066)	= 16.01
Prob > F	= 0.0000
R-squared	= 0.0363
Root MSE	= .48851

recid	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
ged	-.0011832	.0004639	-2.551	0.011	-.002093	-.0002734
male	.1820447	.0383723	4.744	0.000	.1067923	.2572971
black	.0333951	.0258903	1.290	0.197	-.0173787	.084169
hisp	-.0660059	.0298203	-2.213	0.027	-.1244869	-.0075248
age	-.0093999	.0014466	-6.498	0.000	-.0122368	-.006563
passed	.0496392	.0316424	1.569	0.117	-.0124151	.1116934
_cons	.8140588	.1179773	6.900	0.000	.582692	1.045426

Additional analysis of other variables indicates that age has a positive effect on recidivism. For each additional year-of-age, an individual has a 1% less chance of recidivating.

The hypothesis that passing the GED has a significant impact on reducing recidivism is not supported. The hypothesis that educational programming would show a statistically significant effect on recidivism is supported. The results showed that the higher a student/inmate's GED score, the less likely they were to recidivate with a .011 level of significance.

When controlling for variables such as age, race, and sex, other hypothesis-supporting conclusions can be drawn from this information. African-Americans account for 40.48% of the database group. They produced the lowest mean score on the GED and recorded the highest recidivism rate (49%) of the five ethnic groups in the study (see table 10 and 11)

Table 10: Dataset Grouped by Race

race	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Asian(1)	6	0.29	0.29
Black(2)	850	40.48	40.76
Foreign(3)	1	0.05	40.81
White(4)	438	20.86	61.67
Hispanic(5)	805	38.33	100.00
Total	2100	100.00	

Table 11: Summery of Dataset By Race, Ged Score and Recidivism Rate

-> race= Asian

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
recidivism	6	.3333333	.5163978	0	1
ged	6	242.5	23.467	225	288

-> race= Black

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
recid	850	.4917647	.5002265	0	1
ged	850	230.3776	25.58429	37	314

-> race= Foriegn

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
recid	1	1	.	1	1
ged	1	255	.	255	255

-> race= White

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
recid	438	.3972603	.4898903	0	1
ged	438	233.4612	29.26674	35	338

-> race= Hispanic

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
recid	805	.4248447	.4946267	0	1
ged	805	250.559	31.32859	46	369

E. Cost Analysis of Education Programs vs. Recidivism

A one percent savings on a five hundred million dollar budget is a significant amount. The following is a conservative estimate of the savings a facility can produce by funding an educational program. The figures used here represent the daily expenditures of Connecticut Correctional Institution-Enfield.

Due to the fact that states define and measure recidivism in many different ways, it is difficult to obtain an average national recidivism rate. The latest statistics from Connecticut as reported by the Office of Labor Relations research report dated October 8, 1999, offer statistics from three separate studies.

The first is a 1996 study by the Justice Education Center, which compared recidivism rates of individuals sentenced to prison to those of individuals who received alternative sentences. The study showed that 65% of those who received prison sentences recidivated within three years.

A 1980 study conducted by two University of Connecticut professors compared the recidivism rates of discharged inmates versus paroled inmates. The study surveyed 111 inmates released by discharge and 57 inmates released on parole. After 3 years, 77% of those released to parole had recidivated, while 85% of those discharged had recidivated.

The third study conducted by the Hartford Courant in 1994 studied two groups of men released from Connecticut prisons. The first group consisted of 100 men who were released in 1962. The second group was comprised of 100 men who were released in 1967. The study found that 1972 convicted 60% convicted of new felonies and 15% for new misdemeanors.

For comparison purposes, the 65% recidivism rate reported in the 1996 study by the Justice Education Center will be juxtaposed with the 44% recidivism rate found in this study's dataset.

As indicated in table 12, 44% of those who took the GED had recidivated within four years. This recidivism rate is 21% below the rate of 65% reported by the Justice Education Center Study. As previously stated, re-arrest and reconviction were used as the recidivist yardstick, just as was done in the Justice Education Center study.

Table 12: Regression Analysis of Recidivism of Male GED Participants.

```
tab recid

recidivation      |      Freq.     Percent        Cum.
------------------+-----------------------------------
Non-recidivists   |       1163       55.38       55.38
Revcidivists      |        937       44.62      100.00
------------------+-----------------------------------
      Total       |       2100      100.00
```

Table 13 is a cost analysis of offering education courses at CCI-Enfield. Using the Justice Education Center recidivism rate of 65%, 470 of the 724 inmates incarcerated at CCI-Enfield would be expected to return. The tax payer cost of incarcerating these men would be approximately $10,570,664. Using this study's predicted recidivism rate of 44% for those who participate in prison education, 318 of the 470 would be expected to

return. The cost to tax payers would be $7,142,947.80 - a difference of $3,427,717.00. Subtracting educational costs from this difference, a total of $2,796,717.00 is saved in one year by one facility. If we look beyond the monetary savings to tax payers and realize the savings to our court systems, victims and victim services, social services and numerous other areas, we get a strong holistic sense of the wide-reaching benefits of prison educational programs.

Daily inmate expenditures vary greatly from facility to facility. Consequently, Connecticut Correctional Institution-Enfield, a medium security facility with a below average daily inmate expenditure, will be used in the state. The daily inmate expenditure at CCI-Enfield is $61.54 compared to a state average of $66.64.

Table 13: A Cost Analysis Using a 21% Reduction in Recidivism.

	Rate of Recidivism		Difference
	65%	44%	
Incarcerated population at CCI-Enfield 724	470	318	152
Average daily expenditure per inmate 61.54			
Daily cost of incarceration	$28,960.72	$19,569.7	$9,391.00
Annual cost of incarceration	$10,570.664	$7,142,947.80	$3,427,717.00
Annual cost of programs, including supplies & salaries	$631,000		
Annual savings, less program costs	2,796,717.00		
Total annual savings to taxpayer at one facility	2,796,717.00		

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Over a century ago prison systems began the practice of educating inmates. Criminologists, sociologists, psychologists and politicians have all attempted to define and answer the questions why a person commits a criminal act and what type of incarceration will best serve and protect society from this individual.

In chapter II I have provided an understanding of some of the schools of thought concerning the criminal mind and criminal behavior. The Classical school argued that humans act on the basis of reason and intelligence and are responsible for their actions. The appeal of this theory is the control of crime through manipulations and enforcement of punishment and satisfying the public demand for punishment of the offender just because he committed the crime. While this theory is appealing to the public it has not historically produced results indicating a reduction in crime rates. If it does not serve as a deterrent to those prone to criminal behavior it does not serve the publics interests of reducing crime.

The classical theorist's failure to show a reduction in crime and address the causes of crime brought about the emergence of the positive school of criminology. The positive theory addressed the need to reduce crime by addressing the causes of crime.

Instead of just administering punishment the positive theorist observed and reported on the behavior of the criminal. As a result of these observations programs were developed to modify and change the way a criminal thinks or accomplishes his goals.

As social theories emerged conflict criminology began to form, based on the argument that one's social status played a role in the way laws were applied to them. The conflict theorist argues that laws are a factor in the structural characteristics associated with the development of behavior defined as criminal. The conflict theory associates power and crime rates. The more power a group has the lower its crime rates. The conflict theory argued the power of groups dramatically reduced penalties for specific crimes associated with those in power. The behavior of criminals and the association of criminal law to this behavior will continue to be studied in the years to come. Future developments in theoretical criminology will result from the further study of criminal behavior and the analysis of how programs and punishment affect this behavior.

Prison systems have incorporated many beliefs from "Lock him up and throw away the key" to providing treatment programs to correct the individual deviant behavior problems so he can be released without posing a threat to society. Though the "Lock him up and throw away the key" approach has never been proven to work, numerous types of treatment programs have been shown to have a positive effect on prison environments and the prisoner.

In chapter III, I analyzed and discussed the organization and success of correctional education programs and provided an understanding of the ways to best address the educational needs of the incarcerated population. Regardless of whether one

approaches treatment from a classical theorist, positive theorist or conflict theorists view, treatment programs have always been found to produce positive results in reducing recidivism and increasing post incarceration employment and education rates. As the research has indicated education programs when implemented and managed effectively create an environment in which normalization can occur. Over time this normalization can bring about a change in the individual. The individual begins to naturally assume responsibility for his or her crime but also develops thinking skills to prevent these actions from reoccurring. With many individuals this is considered a process of habilitation rather than rehabilitation. Education programs rather than meaningless work details have been found to provide this normalization within the prison environment.

A criminal raised in the confines of a prison, never having the opportunity for reintroduction into a society of high cognitive and moral development retains his low level of cognitive development and criminal personality supported by his role in prison. Samenow advises us

> you need vocational training, you need educational programs, but its got to go beyond this because you know what you then have. You have a criminal with job skills, a criminal who can read, rather than a criminal who can't read. To help him read, to help him learn new skills does not change what he wants out of life. It doesn't change the thinking patterns of a lifetime. 1979

You may not have to change what he wants out of life as that may be the same as a law abiding citizen, rather he needs to learn how to obtain these goals in a non-criminal way within the limitations his societal status allows.

Both Samenow and Duguid emphasiz that cognitive conflict must take place in order to stimulate a change in thinking or behavior of the criminal. It is the conflict which causes the criminal to challenge his own perceptions and begin to live through those conflicts resulting in a new outlook and perspective of a situation. Student/inmates cannot just hear how they are supposed to think or be taught how other people think rather they must be stimulated to question why they need to think differently and wrestle with alternative ideas before they can be expected to live an alternative life style. It is argued by some that education programs that focus on occupational skills and job placement produce "job-holding criminals" rather than "reformed criminals" (Duguid, 1981).

The mere providing of an educational environment will not bring about a change. The education program must contain an ethics curriculum administered by one that practices such content and can deliver this material in a non-threatening manner. While it is not practical to think we can deliver this as suggested in the most real environment, the community, it can be delivered within a segregated area of the prison, isolated from the living area and one in which education and cognitive development can be experienced.

Duguid explains to us that while enrolled in an education program within the prison walls a dual identity emerges; the prisoner/student. I reference the inmate/student. As behavior and attitudes change within the classroom setting another, their forever identity is still observable in them.

> An education program with a multiplicity of courses and instructors has an added advantage of offering a wide range of vehicles for the delivery of ideas. Thus a student takes several courses at a time over several terms; interacting with

> different instructors and with different groups of students. Characters in novels, historical situations, psychological theories and philosophical arguments all act in combination to produce the desired effect. Thus no one course or instructor is the key to the development process. Instead the education program as a whole is responsible for whatever development takes place and the primary cause or change agent may vary with each student in the program (Duguid, 1980 and 1981).

I believe the more you identify and recognize students for their perceived changes, in a large group setting, the more responsive the rest of the population will become to accepting their role as the norm rather than the exception.

Just what type of education programs should be offered has been the discussion of many research studies. Many debates have ensued over offering academic education or vocational training. Many factors must be considered in answering this question. Each individual has specific needs, which must be addressed, and there is no prescription which will work for everyone. The research is clear that some type of programming is better than none. The states ability and willingness to fund it usually drive the type of programming.

Without the ability to control the values of the instructors of these programs and determine the impact this has on the results of the program Douglas Griffin (1981) offers the following ideas of how a correctional educator can be more effective.

The correctional educator can be more effective if he/she has a better understanding of what makes a criminal a criminal besides he was arrested for an illegal act.

Griffin states the correctional educator must understand the differences between an uneducated non-criminal and the uneducated criminal. The job of the correctional educator is to stimulate a change in the offender's position of morality through the instruction of academic or vocational education.

The research discussed in this paper provides the correctional educator with an understanding of the types of programs and components of programs bring about positive post incarceration results. By duplicating some of these components within their own work environments they may achieve similar results.

As was once thought, locking criminals up and throwing away the key does little to deter crime. Eventually these individuals will return to society. Mandating criminals to do a greater percentage of their time will at least keep them off the street for a longer period. If we have failed to properly address their dysfunctions we place an unchanged criminal back into society. We must address the criminal as the problem not society. The criminal must not only be offered the necessary tools to change but also develop reasoning skills to be able to determine what this alternative lifestyle will do for her/him. If we do not attempt to change his/her thinking pattern we have not addressed the true dysfunction.

Chapter IV provided the reader with a closer perspective of the education programs within the Connecticut Department of Correction and a description of the types of educational testing and programs offered to the incarcerated population.

In chapter V I discussed an in-depth study I conducted over the past five years on inmates who participated in the examination during the period between 1992 and 1996. The results of this study supported the need for educational programming within correctional facilities to assist in the reduction of recidivism, lower incarceration costs and reduced victimization.

Though education is currently one of the only interventions that document a significant decrease in the recidivism rate the correctional system must continue to research intervention methods which address the specific mind of the criminal. Education alone reduces recidivism.

I believe the rate will be decreased more greatly if education is offered along with change programs, which are designed to habilitate, criminals as opposed to rehabilitate non-criminals. If we do not continue to try new alternatives or revisit current programs for evaluations of effectiveness we will continue to be only as productive as we currently are.

If education is going to continue to reduce recidivism, we must continue to evaluate our programs being offered. There is a need for evaluation of vocational and academic programs in order to determine program effectiveness in area in need of improvement. (Halasz, 1982) A relationship exists between useful vocational training and parole success. Prison training programs should be developed based on societal needs both present and future, interest of inmates, and income. (Schumaker, 1990)

If our intention is to provide a stable educational environment for those individuals who qualify and want to learn, we must provide them with the resources with which they can pursue and achieve their goal. With the new prisons built in Connecticut,

we have been able to establish a stable education program where students have the opportunity to complete their education and decrease recidivism even more. It will be less expensive for society if these people can support themselves once they are released from prison.

As each program is evaluated for effectiveness, much of our information is based on the response of an individual who knows how to say what we want to hear. It is difficult at best to determine to what extent a criminal maintains a crime free life. What we do know is those individuals who do participate in an education program are less likely to return to the system as those who do nothing more than do their time. We must continue to explore and expand with non-traditional approaches to incarceration.

Programs not only address the dysfunction of a criminal but also reduce idle time. Effective programs support themselves by reducing recidivism and in turn the cost to the taxpayer for incarcerating an individual.

Is the purpose of incarceration to protect society for a short period of time and then release the prisoner in a less dependent and angrier state than when he went to prison? Or should we be attempting to return to society a less angry educated individual with some type of job skills to prevent or lessen the reoccurrence of crime? If we answer the latter we as a society must support the establishment of offender treatment programs. Parlett explains: In the final analysis the function of prison is primarily, by consensus, the protection of society.

Society is not protected in the long run if the products which the prison turn out have not attained a sense of reason and proportion and revert once again to criminal activity. It is, then, insufficient to show paper and pencil growth; freedom from crime and non-return to prison must also be shown. (1980)

In order to expect an inmate to become self-sufficient and contribute to society as a taxpayer we must prepare them for this while incarcerated, with basic skills. Knowledge of at least adult basic skills in reading and math are required for entry into a good job or training for a profession (Winters & Mather, 1993). A lack of education may either lead to no employment, or to underemployment and entrapment in a level of marginal, low-paid and often part-time jobs. (Dunham & Albert, 1987:47).

Though there has been a recent increase in the older inmate population, due to long term confinement sentences, the average age of our prison population has decreased. According to the Bureau of Justice statistics for 1994, 60% of Connecticut prisoners are less than 30 years of age. This demographic change in the age of our population further indicates the need for the implementation of curricula to address academic, vocational and social skills.

As the incarceration rate continues to climb we must continue to research ways to combat recidivism and the reoccurrence of crime. As is indicated in this research, participation in training and education programs while incarcerated leads to increased post-incarceration success in the job market. Expansion of these programs to more correctional systems coupled with the addition of transition services to exhisting programs is essential to reducing the number of re-offenders.

As is indicated in my study as well as others, age and education are two determining factors as to whether one recidivates or not. While we cannot control for age without locking people up longer, we can control whether one participates in an education program or not.

The information gathered and analyzed for the Connecticut Department of Correction is just the inception of what will evolve into a much larger information gathering process. Future development in our information systems will enable us to gather, merge and analyze much more information and report on more findings.

Area of future research will concentrate on analyzing the effects college programming has had in Connecticut's Correctional System. In addition I will be researching and developing transition programming strategies for implementation.

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Table 14. Background Characteristics and Recidivism

Background Characteristic	Number & Percentage Recidivating Within each Category	
	N	%
SEX		
Male	(437)	40.9
Female	(53)	39.7
RACE		
White	(283)	33.5
Black	(200)	58.8
0Non-Hispanic	(414)	40.2
AGE AT RELEASE		
25 and Under	(64)	56.6
26-35	(252)	49.8
36-45	(129)	36.0
46-55	(33)	23.1
56 +	(13)	15.3
COMMITMENT OFFENSE		
Drug, Liquor	(161)	34.2
Property	(121)	60.8
Extortion, Fraud	(42)	20.8
Robbery	(55)	64.0
Firearms, Explosives	(34)	48.6
White Collar	(24)	36.4
Miscellaneous	(13)	54.2
Other Crimes Against the Person	(13)	65.0
Immigration	(8)	53.3
Sex Offenses	(4)	50.0
Homicide/Manslaughter	(3)	42.9

Note. From Recidivism Among Federal Prisoners Released In 1987. by Miles D. Harer Journal of Correctional Education Vol. 46 Issue.3 p. 101. September 1995.

APPENDIX B

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table 15. Educational Attainment at Admission, Courses Taken While in Prison, and Recidivism

Educational Attainment at Prison Admission	Profile of Educational Attainment	Adult Basic Education (ABE) Number 0 ≥ 1	General Educational Development (GED) Number 0 ≥ 1	Adult Continuing Education (ACE) Number 0 ≥ 1	Post Secondary Education (PSE) Number 0 ≥ 1	Social Skills Number 0 ≥ 1
Eighth grade or Less		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
N	171	111 60	143 28	163 8	169 2	147 24
%	14.6	64.9 35.1	83.6 16.4	95.3 4.7	98.8 1.2	86.0 14.0
Recidivating						
N	86	58 28	73 13	82 4	85 1	73 13
%	50.3	52.2 46.7	51.0 46.4	50.3 50.0	50.3 50.0	49.7 54.2
Some High School		(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
N	341	258 83	280 61	318 23	319 22	290 51
%	29.0	75.7 24.3	82.1 17.9	93.3 6.7	93.6 15.0	85.0 15.0
Recidivating						
N	186	138 48	156 12	174 12	177 9	160 26
%	54.6	53.5 57.8	55.7 52.2	54.7 40.9	55.5 51.0	55.2 51.0
High School Graduate		(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
N	362	298 64	350 12	330 32	341 21	309 53
%	30.8	82.3 17.7	96.7 3.3	91.2 8.8	94.2 5.8	85.4 14.6
Recidivating						
N	136	116 20	131 5	129 7	129 7	118 18
%	37.6	38.9 31.2	37.4 41.7	39.1 21.9	37.8 33.3	38.2 34.0
Some College		(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
N	207	188 19	204 3	184 23	175 32	180 27
%	17.6	90.8 9.2	98.6 1.4	88.9 11.1	84.5 15.5	87.0 13.0
Recidivating						
N	61	55 6	59 2	52 9	58 3	56 5
%	29.5	29.3 31.6	28.9 66.7	28.3 39.1	33.1 9.4	31.1 18.5
College Graduate or More		(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
N	93	88 5	92 1	78 15	86 7	67 26
%	7.9	94.6 5.4	98.9 1.1	83.9 15.1	92.5 7.5	72.0 28.0
Recidivating						
N	5	5 0	5 0	5 0	4 1	4 1
%	5.4	5.7 0.0	5.4 0.0	6.4 0.0	4.6 14.3	6.0 3.8

Missing Information = 31. Cell Number in Parentheses. * Includes vocational and Occupational courses.

Note: From Recidivism Among Federal Prisoners Released In 1987. by Miles D. Harer Journal of Correctional Education Vol. 46 Issue.3 p. 106. September 1995.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROGRAM

Table 16. Classification of subjects at each follow-up interview by program

	Humanities (N=58)			GED (N=58)			Vocational (N=57)		
	% 1970	% 1971	% 1972	% 1970	% 1971	% 1972	% 1970	% 1971	% 1972
In Society	54	52	51	51	38	36	69	61	58
Employed	33	28	28	28	22	21	39	40	37
Unemployed	16	12	14	21	16	12	28	17	14
Military Service	5	2	9	2	-	3	2	4	7
In Prison	31	41	33	21	33	31	14	21	23
Fugitive	2	3	2	2	--	2	3	4	--
	33	44	35	23	33	33	17	25	23
Deceased	3	3	5	2	3	3	--	--	--
No Data	10	10	10	26	26	28	14	14	19
Total *	100	99	101	102	100	100	100	100	100

Note: From The Humanities In Prison: A Case Study by M. Lewis, 1981, In L. Morin (Eds.), On Prison Education p. 125: Copyright 1981 by the Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

* Totals differ from 100% due to rounding

** Includes only respondents in regular society from who data were available. Respondents in military service, in prison, or fugitives were excluded.

APPENDIX D

RECIDIVISM REPORTS BY PAROLE AGENTS

Table 17. Recidivism Reported by Parole Agents by Groups by Years

	HUMANITIES	GED	Vocational
Percent 1970	23	20	20
Base Number	31	29	29
Percent 1971	13	20	21
Base Number	23	20	24
Percent 1972	18	25	17
Base Number	22	16	23

Note: From The Humanities In Prison: A Case Study by M. Lewis, 1981, In L. Morin (Eds.), On Prison Education p. 126. Copyright 1981 by the Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

* Recidivism was defined as a parole or court violation or a felony conviction with sentence or probation.

APPENDIX E

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

Table 18. Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates Among Respondents at Time of Follow-Up Interviews

	Humanities			GED			Vocational		
	1970	1971	1972	1970	1971	1972	1970	1971	1972
Labor force participation (percent)	56	46	49	67	54	47	78	67	63
Base Number *	50	50	49	42	41	40	49	49	46
Unemployment (percent)	32	30	33	43	41	37	42	30	27
Base Number**	28	23	24	28	22	19	38	33	30

Note: From The Humanities In Prison: A Case Study by M. Lewis, 1981, In L. Morin (Eds.), On Prison Education p. 127. Copyright 1981 by the Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

* Includes all respondents for whom data were available except those who were deceased.

APPENDIX F

HUMANITIES RELATED ACTIVITIES

Table 19: Item Means for Humanities-Related Activities Scale by Group 1970 Follow-up

ITEM	HUMANITIES (N=41)	GED (N=36)	VOCATIONAL (N=31)
Go to museum	1.20	1.22	1.29
See a live play	1.18	1.06	1.16
Hear a concert	1.20	1.17	1.18
Read a book	2.66	2.81	2.68
Do art work	1.55	1.42	1.63
Write poetry or an essay	1.48	1.34	1.47
Check a book out of a library	1.59	1.29	1.84

Note: From The Humanities In Prison: A Case Study by M. Lewis, 1981, In L. Morin (Eds.), On Prison Education p.128. Copyright 1981 by the Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
Note: Means calculated with "not at all" = 1, "once" = 2, "several times" = 3, "often" = 4.

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